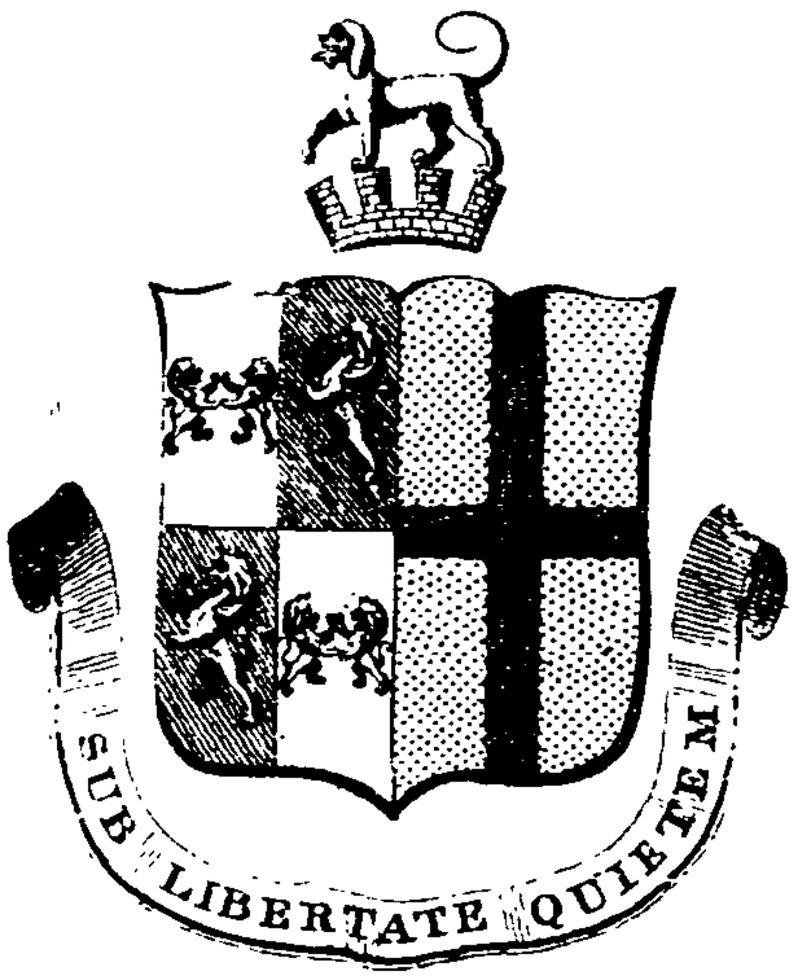


W.ᵐ HENRY CARTER, ESQᴿ.

Castlemartin?

An Accurate Map of South-America

Drawn from the best Modern Maps & Charts and Regulated by Some late Astron.l Observations.

By Eman: Bowen Geog.r to His Majesty.

The Islands of Solomon are situated too far Westward to be included in this Map.

Equinoctial Line

Tropic of Capricorn

Land seen by an Englishman in 1636.

Easter I.

I. Sambolose

I. St. Felix

Juan Fernandes I. first visited by Capt. Michel 1741.

Port discovered by Sr. Fra: Drake

The Sacrament Colony was by Treaty ceded to the Spaniards by the Portuguese in 1750.

Longitude from London

A NEW and ACCURATE

HISTORY

OF

South-America:

CONTAINING

A particular Account of ſome Accidents leading to the Diſcovery of the NEW WORLD; of the Diſcovery made by *Columbus*, and other Adventurers; of the ſeveral Attempts made to find out a North-Eaſt and North-Weſt Paſſage; and what Parts of AMERICA are ſubject to the different *European* Powers.

WITH

A full Deſcription of the SPANISH Provinces of *Chili*, *Paraguay*, *Peru*, and *Terra Firma*. Of GUIANA; particularly of *Surinam* belonging to the DUTCH, and of *Cayenne* belonging to the FRENCH; of *Brazil*, ſubject to the Crown of PORTUGAL; of that Part of *Paraguay* poſſeſſed by the JESUITS, where they have eſtabliſhed a New Monarchy; and of the various Nations of INDIANS throughout this extenſive Territory: As alſo of all the moſt remarkable Iſlands adjacent to its Coaſts.

Including the Geographical, Natural, Political, and Commercial Hiſtory of every Province: With the Religion, Manners, and Cuſtoms of the Inhabitants.

With DISSERTATIONS on the *Britiſh*, *Spaniſh*, *Portugueſe*, *French*, *Dutch*, and *Indian* Settlements.

By Mr. ROLT.

LONDON:

Printed for T. GARDNER, at *Cowley*'s Head, facing *St. Clement*'s Church in the *Strand*; and Sold by all the Bookſellers in *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*.

M. DCC. LVI.

TO THE

Right Honourable

THE

Lords Commiſſioners

OF

TRADE and PLANTATIONS;

And to the

Merchants of *Great Britain*:

THIS

Hiſtory *of* AMERICA,

Is humbly inſcribed

by their moſt reſpectful, obliged,

and obedient Servant,

R. ROLT.

PREFACE.

AMERICA *is the largeſt of the four grand diviſions of the world; and is now become of the greateſt importance to the others. It has ſuch a variety of climates, and ſuch abundance of the moſt valuable productions, that all the principal* European *powers have been very attentive to their particular intereſts and connexions in this part of the globe, which they have colonized with great aſſiduity, and cultivated with amazing ſucceſs. The* Spaniards *owe all their opulence to their poſſeſſions in* Chili, Peru, Mexico, *and the* Antilles. *The* Portugueſe *have aggrandized their nation by eſtabliſhing their ſettlements in* Brazil. Great Britain *is indebted to her colonies in* North America, *and her iſlands in the* Weſt-Indies, *for the augmentation of her trade, the increaſe of her wealth, and the ſupport of her navy.* France *has alſo extended her commerce, ſo as to rank herſelf a maritime power, by means of her poſſeſſion in* Canada, Louiſiana, Cayenne, *the* Leeward Iſlands, *and* Cape Breton. *The* Dutch *receive no inconſiderable advantage from* Surinam, *and their iſlands adjacent to the* Spaniſh *main. The* Danes *and* Hamburgers *have ſome trade to the iſland of* St. Thomas, *and the* Virgins. *The* Courlanders *have attempted to ſettle in ſome of the* Antilles, *and the* Swedes *in* North America; *but without ſucceſs: from whence it is evident, that the general commerce and naviga-*

tion of Europe *are greatly dependent upon the colonies in* America.

THOSE powers who moſt tenderly cheriſh, and moſt prudently encourage, their plantation-trade and navigation in America, *in due ſubſerviency to the proſperity of their mother countries, are likely to have the greateſt ſhare of mercantile ſhipping, the beſt nurſery for ſeamen, the greateſt fund of wealth, and to be the moſt capable of maintaining the dominion and ſovereignty of the ocean. The trade to theſe colonies may be conſidered as ſo many branches of foreign commerce, carried on, and conducted ſolely, under the direction and regulation of the reſpective mother countries; whereby* Europe *is prodigiouſly enriched. A communication is carried on by the* Spaniards *between* America *and* Aſia; *which is productive of mutual advantages to both thoſe diſtant quarters of the globe. And* Africa *is of the moſt eſſential ſervice to the* American *colonies, by furniſhing them with negro ſlaves, to be employed in thoſe laborious and miſerable ſtations which could not be ſo well executed by* Europeans.

THE gold of Chili *and* Brazil; *the ſilver of* Peru; *the tobacco of* Virginia, *and* Maryland; *the ſugar and indico of the* Caribbee Iſlands, *and the greater iſlands adjacent; the furs of* Canada; *the hides of* Buenos Ayres, Hiſpaniola, *and* Cuba, *with the precious ſtones, pearls, balſams, drugs, dying-woods, and other commodities, produced in the different parts of* America, *have afforded a very beneficial commerce to the* Europeans; *particularly to the* Engliſh, French, *and* Dutch. *Bars of ſilver and gold are imported by many nations from* Spain *and* Portugal; *where it is impoſſible to prevent its extraction, and eſpecially in* Spain, *though the penalties extend to forfeiture*

feiture of life and effects; which will be perpetually the caſe, till Spain *is no longer in debt to other nations; and this point is only attainable by ſelling more than they buy, or of turning their paſſive into an active commerce.*

THE trade to Spain *is certainly the moſt advantageous of any to* Great Britain; *whereby ſhe receives a very conſiderable balance; as ſhe alſo does from* Portugal: *but the trade between* Great Britain *and* France, *is manifeſtly prejudicial to the former. However, the moſt profitable traffic of* Great Britain, *is carried on with her own plantations in* America; *and it is to be obſerved, that thoſe colonies, if properly encouraged, would ſoon be enabled to take off all the manufactures the mother country could ſpare.*

THE Britiſh *colonies in* America, *contain near a million and half of white inhabitants: they employ near* 2000 *ſhips; whereby* Great Britain *exports goods to theſe colonies, to the value of about* 850,000*l. a year; and imports from thence to the amount of* 2,600,000 l. *a year; gaining about* 1,750,000 l. *upon the balance, which remains in the hands of the people of* Great Britain. *This may ſerve to ſhew the advantage of the* American *colonies in general; and to account for the conduct of the* French *in their encroachments upon the* Britiſh *ſettlements. For the* French *are become our rivals, in the ſugar-trade; they are now ſupplanting us in the fur-trade; they have long ſince excelled us in the cod-fiſhery; and, perhaps, may endeavour to make their* Canada *rival our* Virginia *in tobacco: upon which account, the* Britiſh *colonies ought to be the principal care of the* Britiſh *government.*

PREFACE.

TRADE is now become the general ſtudy of all civilized nations, and the American *trade in particular. Therefore, it is neceſſary to ſhew how that country was diſcovered, conquered, and colonized: to give a particular account of all its reſpective diviſions; with their principal towns and rivers: to deſcribe its productions, both natural and artificial: to point out how far the different* European *ſettlements have connexions with each other: to ſhew the ſtate of the* Indians; *the trade of the country in general, and of each colony in particular; wherein old branches of trade are eſſentially to be ſupported, and new ones encouraged: with many other important matters that may ſerve to elucidate the preſent aſpiring views of the court of* France, *and the incertainty of depending upon the friendſhip of* Spain.

THIS firſt volume contains an account of South America, *which is in the poſſeſſion of the* Spaniards, Portugueſe, French, Dutch, *and* Indians. *It muſt be confeſſed, that the ſubject is not ſo conſequential or entertaining as that of* North America, *or the iſlands: yet* South America *is ſtill neceſſary to be known; becauſe it has been hitherto very imperfectly deſcribed. Beſides, it ſerves other* European *powers for carrying on a conſiderable trade, as well as the* Spaniards, *though illicit and dangerous: on which account the* Engliſh *and* Dutch *have made ſeveral attempts to gain a ſettlement upon the coaſts of* Terra Firma, Guiana, Patagonia, *and* Chili: *but this will be particularly repreſented in the diſſertations in the ſecond volume.*

THE remaining part of this work will contain the deſcription of North America, *and the iſlands; which will afford very intereſting matter, with reſpect*

ſpect both to the commercial and political ſyſtems of the European *powers. The lover of hiſtory will ſee how theſe countries were colonized and regulated: the naturaliſt will perceive how they were cultivated and improved: the merchant will be more able to diſtinguiſh between the different commodities of each particular colony, to what market they may be moſt advantageouſly brought, what commodities are requiſite for the plantation conſumption, how beneficial the colonies are to the mother country, and in what they are prejudicial; as alſo how far their different intereſts render them ſerviceable or inconvenient to each other: and all mankind, as well as the ſtateſman, will be made ſenſible of what encroachments have been attempted upon the* British *ſettlements and how much it is incumbent upon* Great Britain *to conſult the beſt means for the farther improvement of her colonies, particularly the ſugar iſlands, and the northern and ſouthern provinces on the continent.*

THE foreign trade of Great Britain *is now become the ſtrength and riches of the kingdom; as it diſperſes that blood and ſpirit throughout all the members, by which the body politic ſubſiſts, and is the living fountain from whence we draw all our nouriſhment. The price of land, value of rents, our home commodities and manufactures, riſe or fall, as it goes well or ill with our foreign trade; which has long been in a flouriſhing condition: but other nations are beginning to be induſtrious, and to be ſenſible that commerce is the ſoul of power. Even military ſtates, and arbitrary princes, throw by the terror of their arms, and moderate the exerciſe of their power, to invite commerce to their dominions, and protect property under their government. The* French *have been moſt diligent in directing their ſagacity to the promotion of their commercial intereſts;*

ests; and they not only rival us in every considerable branch of trade, but in some have absolutely beat us out of the foreign markets. The Spaniards *have at last opened their eyes, and are awakened from that lethargic disposition, which has hitherto made them negligent of the benefits of trade, and the emolument of their colonies. This makes it necessary for* Great Britain *to keep her eye stedfastly on all the advances of a dangerous rival; and to have a strict observation on all the schemes of every nation that is aspiring to an addition of power by the increase of trade: which cannot be more effectually done than by properly understanding the respective interests, strength, and connexions, of the different* European *powers in* America: *upon which account, it is presumed, that a* GENERAL HISTORY *of that country will be very acceptable to the* British *nation.*

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A NEW

A

NEW HISTORY OF *AMERICA.*

PART I.

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The ſituation and extent of AMERICA. *Some account of its natives, and in what manner they firſt peopled that country: with a general view of its produce and commodities. A ſummary account of what the ancients thought about a new world; and ſome accidents leading to the diſcovery of* AMERICA.

ACCORDING to the rules of geography, the terreſtrial globe, conſiſting of earth and water, is 360 degrees, each degree containing 60 miles: ſo that the whole circumference of the globe is 21,600 geographical miles, and the diameter 7200. But, if the computation is made by *Engliſh*

liſh miles, the globe will be 25,020 miles round, and 8,340 in diameter; becauſe $69\frac{1}{2}$ miles of *England*, are equal to one degree, or 60 geographical miles. Two thirds of the ſurface of this globe, at leaſt, are compoſed of water; and the remainder of earth. The waters are divided into three extenſive oceans, called the *Atlantic*, the *Pacific*, and the *Indian* oceans; beſides the *Mediterranean*, and other leſſer ſeas. The land is divided into the two great eaſtern and weſtern continents, with ſeveral iſlands; or, into the old and new world, ſeparated from each other by the *Atlantic* and *Pacific* oceans; the *Atlantic* being about 3000 miles wide between ſouth *America* and *Africa*; and about the ſame breadth between north *America* and *Europe*: the *Pacific* being about 9000 miles wide between *America* and *Aſia*. The eaſtern continent is ſubdivided into three parts; *Europe* on the north-weſt, *Aſia* on the north-eaſt, and *Africa* on the ſouth: but the weſtern continent conſiſts only of *America*, which is the ſubject under our preſent conſideration.

AMERICA is the largeſt part of the four grand diviſions of the world; being ſituated between 35 and 145 degrees of weſtern longitude; and between 80 north, and 58 degrees of ſouth latitude: bounded by the lands and ſeas about the arctic pole, on the north; by the *Atlantic* ocean, which ſeparates it from the eaſtern continent, or old world, on the eaſt; by the great ſouthern ocean on the ſouth; and by the *Pacific* ocean, which divides it from *Aſia*, on the weſt: ſo that it is between 8 and 9000 miles in length from north to ſouth, and between 3 and 4000 broad; though the iſthmus, that joins

north

north and ſouth *America*, is not 60 miles over: yet, from thence, both parts of this continent ſtretch themſelves out, eaſt and weſt, till they make the above-mentioned breadth: to which may be added, the ſeveral iſlands in the ſouth and north ſeas, adjacent to the coaſts of *America*.

THIS great and populous continent remained unknown, to the reſt of the world, for all the ages that paſſed from the creation to the year 1492, when it was firſt diſcovered by *Chriſtopher Columbus*; though this brave adventurer was deprived of the honour of giving his own name to the new world, by *Americus Veſpuſius*, who only continued the diſcoveries begun by *Columbus*, before whoſe time the inhabitants had no general name for their country; but, as *Americus* gave it his name, it has retained it ever ſince. However, the *Spaniards* afterwards honoured it with a more magnificent title, by calling it the *new world*; and with no great impropriety, as it is ſo much ſuperior in extent to any of the three parts of the *old world*; or rather is ſo little inferior in that reſpect to them all put together. A third name, that of the *Weſt-Indies*, was alſo given to it by *Columbus*, to excite the princes he was treating with the more, and to authoriſe his enterpriſe by that title, on account of the gold, ſilver, pearls, and ſpices, he imagined were to be found there; which might vie with thoſe of the *Eaſt-Indies*, and was a great reputation to the undertaking. Beſides, his intention being to find out the eaſt by way of the weſt, and the *Eaſt-Indies* being at the extremity of the eaſt, he conceived the country he wanted to diſcover,

muſt be at the fartheſt part of the weſt; therefore the one might as well be called *India*, as the other; and, *Peru* having been diſcovered after *New Spain*, they were in the plural number called *Indies*: though the term of *Weſt-Indies*, is now generally underſtood to be only the *Caribbees*, and ſome other iſlands in the north ſeas, as the *Bahamas*, *Jamaica*, *Cuba*, *Hiſpaniola*, and *Porto-Rico*; to which ſome have added, the province of *Terra Firma* on the continent.

VARIOUS are the conjectures about the firſt inhabitants of this country: for, as the *Indians* had no written records, there is no penetrating by their traditions into their antiquities; the moſt learned men among the *Europeans*, being ignorant of every original thing relative to *America*. The ſtature, form, and features of the *Americans*, are ſimilar to thoſe among *Europeans*; only their complexion is browner, or more upon the olive-colour: the frame and turn of their minds are the ſame as the ancient *Europeans*; they adored the ſame ſupreme God, erected temples, and ſacrificed to him in the ſame manner. They retained a tradition, that their continent was gradually peopled from a ſmall number. Their military weapons, ſuch as ſwords, ſpears, lances, bows, ſlings, and darts, were like what were uſed by the *Europeans*; with this only difference, that, as they had loſt the uſe of iron, their wooden ſwords were edged with ſharp flints; while their ſpears, arrows, and darts, were pointed with the bones of fiſh, or other animals However, it is highly probable, that *America* was peopled very early; becauſe the inhabitants were ignorant of almoſt every art and ſcience, when the *Spaniards* came among them: and, for the ſame reaſon, it may be concluded,

that

that no adventurers arrived there, in theſe latter ages, before *Columbus*.

THERE is ſome reaſon to imagine, that *America* joins either to the north part of *Aſia*, or *Europe*; or, perhaps, to both: which made ſome writers conceive, that this continent was originally peopled from *Tartary*, the land of *Jeſſo*, or ſome other tracts by way of the north pole. Others have ſuppoſed, that the country might have been coloniſed by means of the ſea, from ſome of the *Aſiatic* territories; becauſe there is a kind of reſemblance between the complexion, hair, beard, cuſtoms, and manners, of the *Chineſe* and *Japaneſe*, with ſome of theſe natives. But there is more reaſon to imagine, that *America* was peopled by ſea, either by the *Phœnicians*, or *Carthaginians*; who were the beſt navigators among the ancients.

IT is not probable, that *America* could be peopled by fleets or colonies from *China*, or any other part of *Aſia*: becauſe, the ſouth-ſea, which ſeparates the one country from the other, is about 9000 miles broad; and the *Chineſe*, who are the only people furniſhed with ſhipping in the eaſtern parts of the world, were never inclined to make long voyages, or viſit diſtant regions. Nor could it be peopled by land from the north, or ſouth; becauſe our mariners, in their late voyages to the north-eaſt, and to the north-weſt, have diſcovered, that the ſea extends more than 80 degrees to the northward; and they have alſo ſailed to near 70 degrees ſouthward: ſo that if *America* was peopled by any of theſe ways, the perſons who went there muſt be ſuppoſed to have travelled

ſo near the poles, as to paſs thro' many parts which may be neither paſſable, or habitable. Therefore, we may affirm, that *America* was firſt peopled from *Africa*, either by the *Phœnicians* or *Carthaginians*; who had ſhips capable of carrying a thouſand perſons, ſome of which might have been accidentally driven to *America*, by an eaſt wind, when it is not more than three weeks ſail from *Africa*, or the *Canaries*, to that continent. It is certain, that part of the weſtern coaſts of *Africa*, and the *Canary Iſlands*, were planted by the *Carthaginians*, about 500 years before the chriſtian æra: but, when their ſtate was deſtroyed by the *Romans*, all the diſcoveries and plantations of the *Carthaginians*, were loſt and ruined, by the neglect of navigation: ſo that when the *Spaniards* made a new diſcovery of the *Canary Iſlands*, in the 15th century, the natives could not tell from whence to derive their original; and, like the *Americans*, imagined they were the only people in the world. Beſides, the climate of *America* was ſuitable to the conſtitution of the *Africans*; who fixed the two great empires of *Mexico* and *Peru*, within the torrid zone; which the inhabitants of the more northern latitudes would not have done.

IT may be aſked, how every ſpecies of beaſts, birds, and inſects, firſt came into *America?* Whether by the extremities of the north or ſouth pole? Or, whether it was by ſea?

IT may be anſwered, by ſea, rather than by land: becauſe, it is yet uncertain, whether *America* is joined either to *Europe*, or *Aſia*. It is alſo improbable, that many animals, bred in hot climates, would leave their temperature, to make any migrations

migrations into the frozen regions: to which may be added, that there were no horſes, oxen, or mules, found in *America*, when the *Spaniards* firſt diſcovered the country; though theſe animals were the beſt adapted for the conveniency of carriage; as the *Americans* have neither camels nor elephants.

THE natives of *America* differ very much from one another, according to their various nations, ſoils, laws, and governments. They are repreſented, as naturally paſſionate and revengeful, ſavage and cruel; eſpecially where they have not been civilized by *Europeans*: but, their genuine character ſhould be conſidered with caution; becauſe the *Spaniards* found it their intereſt to traduce them in that ungenerous manner, to excuſe the horrid treatments, and bloody maſſacres, which the poor *Americans* ſuffered from theſe haughty invaders. It is certain, that the *Americans* in general, are endowed with many excellent natural qualifications; being ſenſible and ingenious, brave and generous, ſtrong and active. The *Spaniards* found ſome polite governments among them, particularly the well-governed monarchies of *Mexico* and *Peru*; with ſpacious and populous cities, magnificent temples, rich palaces, and other noble ſtructures. They alſo found one common-wealth, called *Tlaſcala*, which was well regulated and civilized. It is true, ſome inferior governments were to be met with, ſcattered on each ſide of the two grand monarchies, as well as in the iſlands; where the people were leſs polite, and more uncivilized; living in villages, and being

governed by petty princes; which is what may be reaſonably expected in ſuch a great extent of country, and variety of nations.

THE generality of the *Americans*, eſpecially thoſe of inferior rank, and in the hot countries, go almoſt naked; ſome of them entirely ſo; and the others wear only a kind of ſhort garment, reaching from about the waiſt to the knees; though ſome have a ſhort cloak thrown over their ſhoulders; both made either of the ſkins of beaſts, or of ſome light ſtuffs of their own weaving, or of the feathers of ſome birds; in the joining and mixing of which they are extremely expert. They likewiſe paint their faces and bodies with figures of animals, flowers, or other things of different colours, and ſome of them raiſed like a baſs relief. However, there are others, particularly thoſe of the higheſt rank, and more civilized countries, who cover their bodies in a more elegant manner; wearing ornaments on their heads, chiefly compoſed of the fineſt feathers, beautifully variegated and adjuſted. Their laws and cuſtoms were very different: but, in general, their religion was the ſame, which is ſtill retained by thoſe who have preſerved their liberty; their worſhip being commonly paid to the ſun, moon, ſtars, fire, water, beaſts, and demons; though there are ſome who acknowledge a ſupreme being above them all, whom they worſhip as their creator, and the ſole director of the univerſe. Learning was alſo as great a ſtranger as the true religion among the *Americans*, who were unacquainted with the uſe of letters; ſo that what records they had, conſiſted principally in the diſpoſition of a certain

number

number of knots, tied in a peculiar manner, in a kind of bundle of ſtrings like packthread; or a number of notches on pieces of wood; or at beſt in ſome ill-ſhaped figures of men, beaſts, birds, trees, and flowers, traced, or painted on the leaves or barks of trees, or ſome ſort of ſtuff, that ſerved them inſtead of paper: whereby they were entirely ignorant of all the ſciences.

A COUNTRY of ſuch great extent, not only on each ſide of the equinox, but extending ſo very far beyond each of the tropics, muſt neceſſarily be ſuppoſed to have as great a difference of ſoils, as it has of climates: though, upon the whole, excepting the moſt northern and ſouthern parts, which are naturally cold and barren, the reſt is an immenſe treaſury of nature, productive of moſt, if not of all the plants, grains, fruits, trees, and minerals, that are found in the other parts of the world; not only in as great quantities, but many of them more ſo, and in much greater perfection: beſides which, it has almoſt an infinite variety of others peculiar to itſelf, that will not grow, or flouriſh, in any other country. But theſe are nothing in compariſon to the numerous and inexhauſtible mines of gold and ſilver; which are ſo far from being impoveriſhed, that they ſeem rather to want ſome freſh ſupplies of hands to draw out theſe endleſs treaſures, and gorge the inſatiable avarice of mankind; notwithſtanding all the art and labour of man has been employed in endeavouring to drain them for theſe two laſt centuries. However, gold and ſilver are far from being the only precious commodities that this country produces, which has alſo a great abundance of diamonds,

pearls,

pearls, emeralds, amethyſts, and other valuable ſtones, ſent into *Europe* in ſuch quantities as to render their value inconſiderable, in compariſon of what it was formerly. To theſe may be added a great number of other commodities, which are of great utility; as the conſtant and plentiful ſupplies of ſugar, tobacco, cochineal, indigo, anatto, logwood, braſil, fuſtic, lignum vitæ, ginger, pimento, cocoa, cotton, red-wood, furs, hides, ambergreaſe, and bezoar; balſams of *Tolu*, *Peru*, and *Chili*; jeſuits bark, mechoacon, ſaſſafras, ſarſaparilla, caſſia, and tamarinds; with many kinds of other woods and plants, to which the *Europeans* were utter ſtrangers before the diſcovery of theſe *American* parts; or were obliged to buy them at an extravagant price from *Aſia* and *Africa*, perhaps at the ſecond, third, or fourth hand; many of the moſt valuable ones alſo adulterated by the *Jews*, who were the chief merchants and brokers of them in thoſe parts, from which they were brought at an immenſe charge and trouble. *America* alſo abounds in excellent fruits, that grow in great perfection; ſuch as pine-apples, pomegranates, citrons, lemons, oranges, limes, malicatons, cherries, pears, apples, figs, and others; with an abundance of culinary, medicinal, and other herbs, roots, and plants. To all theſe may be added, the ſurpriſing fecundity of the ſoil, which makes it nouriſh many exotic productions, in as great a perfection as their own native ground: this being evidently remarkable in the coffee and rice, which have been lately cultivated there with great ſucceſs, and might be extended to many other

vegetables

vegetables that *Europeans* are obliged to have, from *Aſia* and *Africa*, at extravagant prices.

YET, with all this great plenty and variety, *America* laboured under the want of many very neceſſary and uſeful commodities: for the *Europeans*, on their firſt landing there, found neither corn, wine, nor oil; the inhabitants making their bread of ſome kind of pulſe, or roots; their drink was little better; and they were quite unacquainted with the uſe of money. There were neither beeves, horſes, aſſes, ſheep, goats, or hogs, though the land abounded with excellent paſtures; and the very ſight of any of them, eſpecially of a horſe, would throw a whole troop of thoſe wild inhabitants into a pannic. But all theſe have long ſince been ſent thither in ſuch plenty, and have propagated ſo well, that there is not any want of them; which may particularly be ſeen by the great quantities of hides, eſpecially of oxen, that are continually brought away from thence. However, inſtead of theſe *European* animals, they had ſeveral kinds of others, equally uſeful and valuable, which were unknown to *Europeans*. The ſame may be ſaid of that prodigious number of birds which are to be ſeen there; ſome of them greatly ſurpaſſing all that can be found in any other parts of the world, for their beautiful ſhapes and colours. Beſides, there was an abundance of fiſh, of all kinds, both in their ſeas and rivers.

THE rivers of *America* are univerſally allowed to be the largeſt in the whole world; not only with regard to their breadth and depth, but alſo on account of their extenſive courſe. The mountains are of a moſt ſurpriſing height and extent;

and

and there are ſome very large woods, deſarts, and lakes.

BEFORE the diſcovery of *America*, the generality of mankind were ſo far from imagining that there could be any ſuch continent, that the very thought of ſuch a thing was looked upon as extravagant: for it was believed, that the land terminated at the *Canary Iſlands*, and that all beyond them to the weſtward was ſea; though ſome of the ancients gave hints that there were ſome other countries to the weſt. *Plato*, in two of his dialogues, mentions the iſland of *Atlantis*; and there is ſtill extant a deſcription of it in *Greek* verſe, aſcribed to *Solon*, on whoſe credit the whole ſtory depends; who relates that he was informed, by an *Egyptian* prieſt, of a tradition of this iſland; which ſeems to be either an allegory, or a fable. The next authority is taken from a book generally attributed to *Ariſtotle*, wherein it is alledged, that the *Carthaginians* diſcovered an iſland beyond the *Streights* of *Gibraltar*, large in extent, fertile in its ſoil, and full of navigable rivers; at the diſtance of ſome days ſail from the continent, but uninhabited: that the firſt diſcoverers fixed there; but the *Carthaginians* ordered, that none of their ſubjects ſhould ſettle there for the future, and diſlodged thoſe who were already ſettled. *Diodorus Siculus* gives a far more accurate and probable account of this matter, deſcribing this iſland at large, and then ſhewing why it remained uninhabited. He ſays, "The *Tyrians* would have planted a co-
"lony there, but that the *Carthaginians* oppoſed
"it for two reaſons: firſt, becauſe they were
"afraid too many of their citizens would be inclined

"to

" to tranſport themſelves into this iſland, which " might be prejudicial to their affairs as a trading " people. Secondly, becauſe they deſired to reſerve " this iſland as an aſylum, to which they might " retreat at any time, if oppreſſed by intolerable " misfortunes." Some authors take this iſland to be the largeſt of the *Canaries*: but that ſeems improbable, for many reaſons; particularly, becauſe the *Canaries* are very indifferently provided with water: whereas the *Greek* authority expreſsly ſays, there were ſeveral navigable rivers. There is yet another paſſage in an author, perhaps, more ancient than any of theſe, which was *Theopompus*, a *Greek* writer, of whoſe works there remain now only ſome fragments, and among them one relating to a new world, wherein are ſaid to be two great cities, one inhabited by warriors, and the other by prieſts; but the whole is only an allegory. *Pliny* reports, that *Hanno*, the *Carthaginian*, ſailed round *Africa*; though he alſo affirms, that the middle region of the world, where the ſun continually runs its courſe, is parched and burnt up with fire: therefore, the opinion that *Hanno*, or any of the ancients, ſurrounded *Africa*, muſt be falſe; becauſe they would not only then have known that thoſe countries were habitable; but they muſt have known another hemiſphere, have ſeen a new ſett of ſtars, and have had the ſun to the northward of them at noon-day; which were ſuch remarkable diſcoveries, that, if they had been once made, could never have been forgotten. And yet we meet with no mention of theſe particulars, either in *Greek* or *Roman* writers, or the leaſt deſcription of any people or country in *Africa* ſouth of the equator:

equator: beſides, it is exceeding ſtrange, that, when men paſſed to the fartheſt bounds of *Africa* beyond the equator, none ever returned to inform the more northern regions that thoſe parts were habitable. *Seneca*, the tragedian, in his *Medæa*, ſays, that a time would come when the ocean ſhould be ſailed on, a great continent diſcovered, and a new world found: though this was rather like a prophecy, than a deſcription: however, this was alſo the opinion of ſome other great men among the ancients, founded upon that diſproportion there appeared to be between the land and water then diſcovered.

ST. GREGORY, on the epiſtle of St. *Clement*, ſays, that beyond the ocean there is another world, or rather worlds: but the other fathers derided thoſe philoſophers, who believed the earth to be globular, and ſurrounded by the heavens equally on every ſide: they imagined, that the heavens conſtituted but one hemiſphere; and that the earth was flat and round like a table, ſerving as a baſis, or foundation, to ſupport the fine vaulted roof over their heads; ſo that nothing was more exploded by them than the notion of antipodes. "Is it poſſible, ſays *Lactantius*, that any perſon "can be ſo credulous to believe there are a people, "or nation, walking with their feet upwards, "and their heads downwards; that trees and "corn grow downwards; or that rain, ſnow, "and hail, aſcend to the earth?" And St. *Auſtin* not only diſbelieved the antipodes, but alſo ſaid, "It is not agreeable to reaſon, or good "ſenſe, to affirm, that men may paſs over ſo vaſt "an ocean as the *Atlantic*, from this continent,

"to

" to a new-found world; or that there are inha-
" bitants there; all men being deſcended from the
" firſt man *Adam*."

SOME of the wiſeſt among the ancients, imagined there might poſſibly be a large proportion of the world undiſcovered in their time; and therefore made choice of it, as a proper ſcene for laying ſchemes of ſuch common-wealths as exiſted only in their fancies: they dreamt of a new world, and left behind them ſome broken accounts of theſe dreams. However, many of them were of opinion, that all the climates between the tropics were uninhabitable; founding their judgment upon a point of their philoſophy, which was, that the preſervation of the animal demanded by its temper the juſt proportion of the firſt four qualities, which they ſuppoſed could not be found under the torrid zone; for ſo they called it, becauſe of the force of the ſun there, being all the year almoſt perpendicular to it. Therefore, having obſerved its effects on this ſide of the tropics, how it dries the earth in ſummer, and conſumes the fountains; alſo thinking, that if it did not withdraw to the other tropic, it would have entirely fired the earth, though refreſhed by the nights; it is no wonder if they were perſuaded, that when the beams of the ſun were continual, there could be no habitation for man. However, experience has diſcovered not only that thoſe regions contained under the zodiac, have been, and are inhabited by many nations; but alſo, that there are, even under the equinoctial line, ſome places, particularly *Quito*, ſo temperate and healthful, that they are preferable to ſeveral in the temperate zones.

THERE

THERE are alſo ſome fabulous accounts relating to the diſcovery of *America*; particularly the following, which is recorded in Doctor *Powel's* hiſtory of *Wales*. "*Owen Gwyneth*, who was prince of north *Wales*, being dead, left three legitimate ſons, *Edward*, *David*, and *Madoc*; alſo, an illegitimate ſon, named *Howel*. The eldeſt ſon *Edward*, whoſe right it was to rule, was laid aſide, on account of ſome blemiſh in his face; therefore *Howel* had the preſumption to take the government on himſelf: upon which, *David*, the ſecond ſon, raiſed all the forces he could againſt him, ſlew him in battle, and thenceforth quietly enjoyed the government, until his nephew, the ſon of *Edward*, came of age. In the mean time, the youngeſt brother, *Madoc ap Owen Gwyneth*, reſolving to get out of danger, provided himſelf with ſhips and men; and, about the year 1170, ſet ſail from *Wales*. He left the coaſt of *Ireland* far north, and kept a weſterly coaſt till he arrived at a ſtrange land; where he left moſt of his people, returned back to *Wales*, and upbraided his kinſmen and countrymen with their folly, in quarrelling about their wild and barren lands; which induced a great many families to go with him to that new-found country, where every thing flouriſhed in plenty. Accordingly, he ſet ſail a ſecond time, with ten ſhips: but, as his colony was ſmall, in reſpect of the inhabitants which he found there, his people, by degrees, dwindled into their language and cuſtoms; and, it muſt be ſuppoſed, intermixed with the natives in marriages: ſo that the inhabitants, found there by the *Spaniards*, were certainly deſcendants from theſe *Britons*;

Britons; for it appears, by the hiſtory of *Francis Lopez de Gomera*, that the natives of the iſland of *Cozumel* honoured the croſs, and made uſe of ſeveral words in their language, which are of *Welch* ſignification; for inſtance, the iſland of *Pengwin*, and the birds of that name, in *Welſh*, ſignifies, Whitehead; for theſe birds, in reality, have white heads: likewiſe there is a kind of fruit growing in that country, called *Gwyneths*, which is a *Welſh* word. Moreover, it appears from the evidence of the *Spaniſh* chronicles, that the ſpeech made by *Montezuma*, the great emperor of *Mexico*, in the preſence of *Hernando Cortez*, about the year 1520, is a further confirmation of what is related of that *Welſh* ſettlement: for when *Cortez* had made the emperor a priſoner, and found that his ſubjects were unanimouſly reſolved to reſcue him, and deſtroy the *Spaniards*; *Cortez*, fearing the worſt, ſoothed *Montezuma* with ſuch fair ſpeeches, as prevailed on him to deſire his ſubjects to lay down their arms; to which purpoſe he harangued them in the following manner: "My kinſmen, friends, "and ſervants, you well know, that eighteen "years I have been your king, as my father and "grandfathers were, and always I have been un- "to you a loving prince, as you have been unto "me good and obedient ſubjects, and ſo, I hope, "you will remain unto me all the days of my life. "You ought to have in remembrance, that either "you have heard of your fathers, or elſe our di- "vines have inſtructed you, that we are not na- "turally of this country, nor yet is our kingdom "durable; becauſe our forefathers came from a "far country, and their king and captain, who

" brought them hither, returned again to his na-
" tural country, ſaying, he would ſend ſuch as
" ſhould rule and govern us, if he returned not
" himſelf."

THAT the country, which the *Britiſh* prince diſcovered, was really *America*, is more than can be poſitively proved; but that this tale was invented, after the diſcovery of that country, to ſet up a prior title is moſt certainly falſe: for *Meredith ap Rheſe*, a famous *Welſh* poet, who died in 1477, compoſed an ode in honour of this *Madoc*, wherein was contained an account of his diſcoveries. Now, as this was ſeveral years before *Columbus* made his firſt voyage, we may be ſatisfied that this was really a *Britiſh* tradition, and no tale of late invention. Beſides, the above oration of *Montezuma* carries with it a ſtrong preſumption in favour of the *Welſh* hiſtory; for though the *Americans* were deficient in literature, yet they handed down every thing of moment, by tradition, from father to ſon: nor were their prieſts leſs remarkable in predicting future events; which, as they were more worthy of obſervation, made the ſtronger impreſſions on the people; and, therefore, this prediction, that concerned the revolution of their ſtate, which had been foretold them for many years before, was greatly conducive to the advantage of the *Spaniards*, when the *Indians* ſaw that time probably come to paſs, which they ſo much dreaded; and, as it carried with it the plain appearance of the deſtruction of their monarchy, they were the ſooner brought into ſubjection; for they put ſo much confidence in this prophecy, that they thought it in vain to oppoſe the *Spaniards*. Upon this

his preſumption, ſome ſtateſmen were for proving the right of Queen *Elizabeth* to theſe countries; but they were diſſuaded from it by others, who conſidered that *Welſhmen*, as well as other people, might be caſt upon thoſe parts by tempeſtuous weather, and might eaſily implant ſome few words of their own, among the original inhabitants.

ANOTHER early diſcovery was made by the *Engliſh*, which claims the precedence of any other Chriſtian nation: this is relative to the iſland of *Madeira*, which was firſt diſcovered by one *Macham*, an *Engliſhman*, in the year 1344, in the following manner, which is recorded in the hiſtory of *Portugal*, written by *Antonio Galuano*.

" This *Macham* having ſailed out of *England*,
" with intent to retire into *Spain*, with a woman
" whom he had ſeduced from her friends, was ac-
" cidentally drove, by a tempeſt, upon the iſland
" of *Madeira*, where he landed with her, and
" ſome of his company, in a bay or haven,
" which after him was called *Machio*, in order to
" recover her from her ſea-ſickneſs and fright.
" But the ſhip being afterwards drove off from
" the coaſt, ſailed away with the reſt of the crew,
" leaving *Macham* with his miſtreſs, and ſuch as
" landed with him, without any hope of returning
" from the iſland, which gave her ſo much grief
" as to occaſion her death; when *Macham*, to
" commemorate his affection for her, and the oc-
" caſion and manner of their coming there, built
" a little chapel, and a monaſtery to bury her in,
" whereon he engraved the whole ſtory. He af-
" terwards made a canoe, by hollowing a large
" tree, in which, without ſails or oars, he ven-

" tured to ſea, and was drove upon the coaſt of " *Africa*, where the *Moors* took him, and his " companions, whom they preſented to their " king as a great wonder, who ſent them all to " the king of *Caſtille*."

THIS diſcovery put others upon ſimilar enterprizes; in conſequence of which king *Henry* iii. of *Caſtille*, and ſeveral perſons in *France*, went upon the further diſcovery of *Madeira*, and of the *Canary Iſlands*, in the year 1395, which was forty-nine years after the diſcovery made by *Macham*. *Antonio Galuano*, the *Portugueſe* hiſtorian, alſo ſays, that in the year 1417, during the reign of king *John* ii. of *Caſtille*, and the regency of his mother *Catherine*, Monſieur *Ruben* of *Bracamont*, who was admiral of *France*, obtained from the queen-regent of *Caſtille*, a permiſſion to conquer the iſlands of the *Canaries*, with the title of king for one of his relations, whoſe name was *John de Betancourt*; for which purpoſe ſhe likewiſe aſſiſted him with a conſiderable number of ſoldiers, with whom he departed from *Seville*: but, at the ſame time, it was generally imagined, that his principal aim was upon the iſland of *Madeira*, which *Macham* had already diſcovered.

HOWEVER, the *Spaniards* took poſſeſſion of the *Canaries* in 1405, which were anciently called the *Fortunate Iſlands*; being ſeven in number, ſituated in the *Atlantic* ocean, between 12 and 21 degrees of weſt longitude, and between 27 and 29 of north latitude, about 150 miles S. W. of *Morocco*, in *Africa*. Theſe iſlands were firſt diſcovered and planted by the *Carthaginians*; but, when the *Romans* deſtroyed that ſtate, they put a ſtop to navigation,

gation, especially on the west coast of *Africa*; so that these islands lay afterwards concealed from the rest of the world, till the *Spaniards* took possession of them, who found that the natives had a language which none of the people of the continent understood; even when they had learned *Spanish* enough to render themselves intelligible, they could give no account of their ancestors, or from what country they came; and, though they resembled the natives of the north of *Africa*, in their stature and complexion, they retained none of their customs, were masters of no science, and ignorant of any other country in the world besides their own islands. But the *Madeira* islands, which are situated about 100 miles north of the *Canaries*, were not planted till the year 1425, when the *Portugueſe* took possession of them, and found them uninhabited; since which time the *Canaries* have been subject unto *Spain*; as the *Madeiras*, the *Cape Verd Islands*, and the *Azores*, have been subject to *Portugal*. Before the discovery of these islands, the cleareſt and most intelligible report, concerning another part of the world, which preceded the discovery of *America*, was the tale of the island of the *Seven Churches*, which briefly was this. Some *Portugueſe* sailors, having been driven in a small bark several days to sea, reported, on their return, that they had been on shore in a certain island, the inhabitants of which were Christians, descended from the *Spaniards*, who fled from their country on the first invasion of the *Moors*, when they discovered and planted this island. These *Portugueſe* were compelled to put again to sea, to recover the land of which they pretended

to have made a diſcovery: but they were never heard of again; though the ſtory continued to be credited, and much talked of, among the vulgar. However, the honour of the diſcovery of the new world was reſerved for *Chriſtopher Columbus*.

CHAP. II.

Some remarks on the commerce and navigation of the ancients. The diſcovery and uſe of the loadſtone. Some obſervations on the difference between the complexions of the Europeans, Africans, *and* Americans. *An account of the birth and education of* Chriſtopher Columbus; *his reaſons for believing there was a* new world *to be diſcovered; and ſome reflections on the diſhonour done him by having that country named after* Americus Veſputius.

AS the world increaſed in the number of its inhabitants, governments were eſtabliſhed, and colonies planted. *Minos*, king of *Crete*, deſtroyed all the pirates in the *Mediterranean*; when the ſeas became free for trade, which induced the people to live upon the coaſts of *Greece*, and to apply themſelves to the art of navigation. The antiquity of commerce is almoſt coeval with the world; for neceſſity was its parent; the deſire of conveniency improved it; while vanity, luxury, and avarice, have brought it to its preſent maturity. The *Egyptians*, *Phœnicians*, and *Carthaginians*, who were a *Tyrian* colony, were the firſt, the moſt daring, and moſt experienced traders of

all

all antiquity; at leaſt, it is evident they were the firſt who undertook long and hazardous voyages, and eſtabliſhed a traffic by ſea, between coaſts very remote. Under the *Aſiatic* and *Grecian* empires, ancient hiſtory conveys, from time to time, the traces of a commerce cultivated by ſeveral nations: it flouriſhed among the *Carthaginians*, and was encouraged for ſome time by the *Romans*; but the deſtruction of the *Roman* empire, by the irruptions of the barbarians, occaſioned the declenſion of commerce; for ſome time ſuſpending its ordinary operation, untill it recovered itſelf in *Italy*, among the *Piſans*, *Florentines*, *Genoeſe*, and *Venetians*, who furniſhed *Europe* with the commodities of the eaſtern countries, 'till the latter end of the fifteenth century, when the *Portugueſe* diſcovered a paſſage to *India* by ſea, round the *Cape of Good Hope*; by which means the principal part of trade came into their hands.

THE ancients never attempted to double the *Cape of Good Hope*, or undertake any extenſive voyages; becauſe they were unacquainted with the uſe of the loadſtone, which is ſo very eſſential to the preſent practice of navigation. The diſcovery of the mariner's compaſs has been of more general and important uſe to human ſociety, than any other inſtrument; and the invention of it is uſually aſcribed to *Flavio de Melfi*, or *Flavio Giori*, a *Neapolitan*, about 1302. It is a point in which divines, philoſophers, and politicians, unanimouſly agree, that ſciences have their ſeaſons; or that arts, of the greateſt conſequence to mankind, have, by a concurrence of happy circumſtances, been quickly brought to perfection in one age; though

little progreſs had been made in them in others; ſo that the general fund of knowledge, poſſeſſed by mankind, increaſes irregularly, as well in point of time as of place; for, as ſcience firſt travelled from the eaſt, ſo, in the courſe of ages, it became a grand point of knowledge to find the way there again; and a deſire of finding a new route to the *Eaſt-Indies*, occaſioned the firſt diſcovery of *America*; the former of which brought immenſe treaſures into the kingdom of *Portugal* for a conſiderable time, and the latter ſtill forms the opulence of *Spain*. It need only be added, that in examining the reaſons why commerce paſſed ſucceſſively from the *Italians* and *Germans* to the *Portugueſe* and *Spaniards*; as alſo from thoſe again to the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*; it may be eſtabliſhed as a maxim, that the relation between commerce and navigation, or rather their union, is ſo intimate and neceſſary, that the ſubverſion of the one inevitably draws after it the ruin of the other, and that they will always either flouriſh or dwindle together.

IN the fifteenth century, many ingenious men, and ſome great princes, applied themſelves to the improvement and encouragement of navigation; which had, for ſome years before, been much neglected, and left to men of mean education. The diſcovery, or rather the retrieving of the *Canaries*, in 1417, by *John de Betancourt*, a *French* gentleman, though in virtue of a *Spaniſh* commiſſion, was one of the firſt fruits of that laudable ſpirit of encouraging the uſeful and noble art of navigation, which, ſince the invention of the mariner's compaſs, began to diſcover itſelf in ſeveral parts of the world. The *Portugueſe* ſoon after diſcovered the

the *Madeira* islands, and the *Azores*; but the great advantages which the crown of *Portugal* derived from its commerce, in the new course to the *East-Indies*, occasioned such discourse in the world, as to put many persons of genius, and enterprizing seamen, upon aiming at a farther prosecution of such profitable adventures. The use of the compass being thoroughly understood, mariners were no longer afraid of steering without sight of land: by which means they gave the winds and the waves a greater opportunity to facilitate their views, by carrying them sometimes out of their intended courses, and thereby affording them occasion of making remarks, which otherwise they never could have done.

VASCO DE GAMA first discovered the route by the *Cape of Good Hope* to the *East-Indies*, for the king of *Portugal*; and *Christopher Columbus* had the honour of first discovering *America*, in the service of the king of *Spain*. The brave and judicious Sir *William Monson* observes, "That if men consider "the divine work of God, and the end of his "working, it is marvellous to behold, that *Ame-* "*rica*, being a continent, and equal to all the "rest of the world in bigness, should be conceal- "ed from the creation, 'till one thousand four "hundred and odd years after the birth of Christ; "and not so much as thought of, though some "philosophers seemed to rove at it. And when it "pleased his divine majesty to cast that blessing "upon *Europe*, if we consider the time he did it, "and the occasion why he did it, it will put us "into admiration and acknowledgment of the "power of Christ, against the opinion of *Jews*

"and

" and *Turks*: for could he ſhew himſelf a more
" juſt and loving God, than in pouring upon
" Chriſtendom ſuch a bleſſing of wealth, at the
" time it was likely to be ſwallowed up by bar-
" barous *Turks* and *Moors*, who were only with-
" ſtood by the wealth of the *Indies*?" In another place, he alſo ſays, " It is ſurprizing, that out of
" ſo many flouriſhing nations as God hath created
" and civilized, he ſhould elect the kingdom of
" *Portugal* for the diſcovery of the *Eaſt-Indies*;
" becauſe *Portugal* was a country, in thoſe days,
" of leſs eſteem and reputation, of leſs renown and
" fame, of leſs ability and valour, than any other
" Chriſtian monarchy; and to aſſign them ſuch a
" time to effect it, when they enjoyed a happy
" peace with their neighbours, and had no ene-
" my to oppoſe or hinder their deſigns." The *Portugueſe* diſcovered the coaſt of *Guinea*, in the year 1471, which gave the light to all future diſcoveries, as it led them to the *Cape of Good Hope*, and from thence to *India*. As *Guinea* yielded a complexion to its inhabitants, as different as white and black from the *Europeans*; ſo *America* was ſoon afterwards found to produce a ſort of people, differing from the *Europeans* in whiteneſs, and the *Africans* in blackneſs, having a colour like an olive, and being a medium between both; which ſeems ſtrange, conſidering that *Guinea* and *America* lie eaſt and weſt all in one parallel, ſo that, in reaſon, there ſhould be no ſuch difference. However, this alteration in complexion, and the plentiful increaſe of gold, in theſe climates, is equally attributed to the heat and operation of the ſun;

per-

perhaps not improperly, as may be ſhewn by the following reaſons.

THE ſun, riſing to the eaſtward, betwixt the two tropics, runs its courſe weſtward over *Aſia* and *Africa*, till it comes to the ocean; in which circuit its extreme heat engenders the rich metal of gold, and changes the complexions of creatures to a black hue, reflected by the heat of the earth. The ſun then paſſes over the air of the ſea, and is cooled by it, as it was before heated by the land; ſo that by the time it draws near to the continent of *America*, it has loſt great part of its vigour and force, which renders it unable to produce the ſame effect as in *Africa*; therefore it does not enrich the earth ſo as to make it become gold, as it afterwards does, when it has run its courſe the breadth of *America*, where it again ripens the matter and ſubſtance of gold; for we ſee, by experience, that the greateſt quantity of gold is ſent into *Spain* from *Peru*, which is the moſt weſtern part of *America*; when *Guiana*, and other places in the moſt eaſtern parts of this country, never afford that metal.

THOUGH there was an opinion maintained for ſeveral years, among ſome particular people, that there was another continent to the weſt; yet no perſon undertook to prove it by probable arguments, as alſo that a paſſage from this to that part of the world was practicable, before the time of *Chriſtopher Columbus*; who began, and very ſoon effected this diſcovery.

THIS excellent perſon, whom the *Spaniards*, for the more eaſy pronunciation called *Colon*, was born in the neighbourhood of the city of *Genoa*: he is ſaid to have been deſcended from the lords of the caſtle

caſtle of *Cucaro*, in the dukedom of *Montferrat*; though others ſay, his anceſtors were natives of the city of *Placentia*; but which was the moſt certain deſcent was left to be decided by the ſupreme council of the *Indies*, who, as well as his own ſon Don *Ferdinand*, could make no determination about that matter. However, his parents were not in ſuch mean circumſtances as to be incapable of beſtowing a liberal education upon their ſon, who was put to ſchool at *Pavia*, where he was inſtructed in arithmetic, navigation, and aſtronomy; as alſo in drawing and painting, at leaſt ſufficient to draw a landſkip, or deſcribe the ſituation of a place. When he came from ſchool, where he made the theory of navigation his principal ſtudy, he was reſolved to make himſelf maſter of the practical part of that buſineſs; and accordingly went very early to ſea, where he ſerved under an admiral of his own name, who was a remarkable corſair, and had ſeveral engagements with the *Turks*, *Venetians*, and other nations; in one of which, his ſhip was burnt upon the coaſt of *Portugal*, when *Chriſtopher Columbus* had the good fortune to eſcape to ſhore upon a plank. He immediately went to *Liſbon*, where he found ſeveral of his countrymen and acquaintance were ſettled, with whom he reſided ſome time; after which he made ſeveral voyages to the north and ſouth, and particularly to *Guinea* on the coaſt of *Africa*. While he was in the ſervice of *Portugal*, he improved his fortune by marrying *Donna Philippa Muniz de Pereſtrelo*, who was daughter to the governor of *Porto Santo*, the leaſt of the *Madeira* iſlands; by which marriage *Columbus* came into the poſſeſſion of ſeveral charts, maps,

maps, and journals, belonging to his father-in-law, who had been concerned in ſeveral naval enterprizes; which may have given him the firſt hint of making diſcoveries to the weſtward.

COLUMBUS ſtill applied himſelf attentively to ſtudy coſmography, aſtronomy, and geometry; appearing from his youth to have a more than ordinary inclination to be acquainted with the ſtate of all countries on the face of the globe, and to make new diſcoveries; which probably was his reaſon for ſettling at *Liſbon*, as no nation at that time had carried their diſcoveries farther than the *Portugueſe*; among whom he was perpetually drawing maps and charts, in which he received great encouragement from that enterprizing people.

THIS eminent man had many reaſons to believe that there were other countries: for he conſidered, that the heavens being round, and moving circularly about the earth, that the earth and the water compacted together, formed a globe of the two elements; that the part diſcovered was not all the earth, but that there was ſtill much undiſcovered in the ſpace of 360 degrees, which made the whole circumference, and ought to be inhabited; becauſe the creator of the univerſe had not created it to lie waſte and deſolate: he alſo conceived, that though many perſons doubted whether there were land and ſea, towards both poles, it was neceſſary that the earth ſhould have the ſame proportion with the antarctic pole, as it has in the arctic; from whence he poſitively concluded, that all the five zones were inhabited in all parts; in which he was the more confirmed, after he ſailed to the northward, as far as 75 degrees of latitude.

IT

IT ſhould be obſerved, that *Columbus* formed a right concluſion from falſe premiſes; and, by the happineſs of his genius, ſtruck out this important truth from a ſuppoſition that was abſolutely falſe. He was of opinion that the *Indies*, which the *Portugueſe* had lately diſcovered in the eaſt, made no other than a great continent, belonging to thoſe parts of the univerſe already known; therefore, he conceived that thoſe who ſailed eaſt, muſt come to their weſt coaſts; and that conſequently, by ſailing weſt, it was as practicable to reach their eaſtern ſhores: from which ſuppoſition, he called the iſlands he diſcovered, the *Weſt-Indies*; and when the continent of *America* was firſt found out, the *Spaniards* looked upon it to be part of the continent of *India*, till it was known that the ſouth-ſea, or pacific-ocean, lay between *India* and *America*.

COLUMBUS was confirmed in the opinion of a continent that lay to the weſtward, by Signor *Paul*, a phyſician of *Florence*, with whom he conſtantly correſponded during his reſidence at *Liſbon*; and who acquainted him that the voyage to *China*, through the atlantic-ocean, by the weſt, could not be farther than the voyage from *Portugal* to *Guinea*; which was a great error, though it gave *Columbus* encouragement to attempt that voyage. For Signor *Paul*, computed the diſtance between *Liſbon* and *China*, ſailing weſtward, to be about five thouſand miles; in which he was miſtaken about two thirds: However, he was ſo far accidentally in the right, that the ſpace between ours, and the next continent to the weſtward, was much thereabouts; and gave *Columbus* a no-

a notion that he ſhould make a diſcovery of ſome land about five or ſix thouſand miles to the weſtward.

BESIDES theſe reaſons for undertaking ſo great an enterprize, *Columbus* alſo went upon very probable experience: for, diſcourſing with ſome mariners who had navigated the weſtern ocean, and particularly to the *Azores*, he was informed by *Martin Vicente*, a *Portugueſe* pilot, that, being once 450 leagues to the weſtward of *Cape St. Vincent*, he took up a piece of wood, artificially wrought, and, as he imagined, not with iron; for which reaſon, and as the wind had continued many days together weſterly, he was of opinion that the ſtick came from ſome iſland. *Peter Correa*, who was brother-in-law to *Columbus*, alſo aſſured him, that, in the iſland of *Porto Santo*, he had ſeen another piece of wood brought by the ſame winds, which was wrought in the ſame manner; as alſo that there had been thick canes drove upon thoſe ſhores, unlike any that grew in this part of the world; and, when the weſt winds blew, pines were frequently driven on the *Azores*, or weſtern iſlands. Others, who had ſailed to the weſtward of the *Azores*, ſome hundreds of leagues, affirmed they had ſeen an iſland in thoſe ſeas: and one mariner aſſured *Columbus*, at *Port St. Mary*, that as he was ſailing to *Ireland* he had ſeen land, which the reſt of the crew imagined to be *Tartary*; that it bore away to the weſtward, and has ſince appeared to be the coaſt called *Baccalaos*, in the north of *America*; but that they were prevented from coming at it, by the violence of the winds. *Peter de Velaſco*, a *Gallician*, ſaid, that as he was ſailing for *Ireland*, he ran ſo far to the northward

ward as to ſee land to the weſtward of that iſland. But what principally encouraged *Columbus* to this undertaking, according to ſome authorities, were the ſea-charts and journals of a pilot who died at his houſe in *Liſbon*, that appeared to have diſcovered ſome land far to the weſtward: however, his ſon rejects this ſtory, as derogatory to the honour of his father *Columbus*, who he inſiſts was the firſt diſcoverer of the new world; as he moſt certainly was; at leaſt, he was the firſt who diſcovered it to any purpoſe, ſo as to plant colonies, and make ſettlements there, in theſe latter ages, which is an honour that might ſatisfy his deſcendants. Though, as thoſe ſeas about the *Azores*, the *Canaries*, the *Cape Verd* iſlands, and the coaſt of *Guinea*, were then conſtantly navigated by the *Portugueſe* and *Spaniards*, it is not improbable, that ſome one of their ſhips ſhould have been driven a fortnight or three weeks ſail to the weſtward of the intended courſe, and diſcovered either the iſlands or continent of *America*; as it is reported this pilot did, who died at the houſe of *Chriſtopher Columbus* in *Liſbon*. Upon the whole, it is evident that *Columbus* had ſome certainty, or the higheſt expectation, and probability, of ſucceeding in this attempt: otherwiſe, for a man to venture to ſail ſo many thouſand miles upon an ocean, 'till then eſteemed illimitable, muſt have been deemed an act of temerity, rather than the reſult of wiſdom. Beſides, by his perſiſting ſo long in the reſolution of ſailing in ſearch of a country beyond the *Atlantic* ocean; by applying to ſo many princes and ſtates for aſſiſtance; and by ſtipulating for no other pay or reward, than the government of the lands and ſeas he

ſhould diſcover; it is plain, that he was well convinced of the honour and proſperity of his noble and unparalelled enterprize. The *Phænicians* deified *Hercules*, only for paſſing the ſtreights of *Gibraltar*, and diſcovering *Spain*, which he took to be the fartheſt bounds of the world: and the *Roman* ſenate decreed *Julius Cæſar*, a proceſſion of twenty days, on his return from his firſt expedition into *Britain*; becauſe they imagined he had diſcovered, and led them to the conqueſt of a new-world. Then what honours ſhould not have been paid to *Columbus*, the diſcoverer of *America*? and how ſhamefully were theſe honours with-held from ſo great a man; who was not illuſtrious, like *Cæſar*, for his martial actions, and the ſlaughter of more than a million of people; but was of ſervice to ſociety, like *Hercules*, in diſcovering new countries, and eſtabliſhing colonies, for the advantage of trade, and the utility of mankind? No man deſerved to have the new world called after his name but *Columbus*, who diſcovered it: though he was ſo unworthily and ingratefully treated by the *Spaniards*, that they ſuffered this great country to be called *America*, in honour of *Americus Veſputius*, a *Florentine*, who was leſs intitled to that honour than any of thoſe who took upon them to make farther diſcoveries after the return of *Columbus*: for *Americus* was ſo far from performing any conſiderable thing, that he could not diſcover the river of *Plate*, though he was ſent on purpoſe to make that diſcovery.

CHAP. III.

In what manner the propoſals of Columbus *were rejected by the republic of* Genoa, *and the king of* Portugal. *How his application to the king of* England *miſcarried; and how he entered into an agreement with their* Catholic *majeſties, for the diſcovery of* New Countries. *An account of his firſt voyage, and the difficulties he ſuſtained before he diſcovered the* Bahama *iſlands. The diſcovery of* Cuba *and* Hiſpaniola; *with the reception of* Columbus *among the* Indians. *An account of the garriſon he left at* Hiſpaniola; *and of his return to* Europe. *The detention of his men at the* Azores, *by the* Portugueſe: *His arrival at* Lisbon; *and the honourable reception he met with from the king of* Portugal. *His arrival in* Spain; *and the great honours which were conferred upon him by their* Catholic *majeſties. In what manner* Columbus *undertook his ſecond voyage. And the diſpute, between the king of* Portugal *and their* Catholic *majeſties, concerning their rights and pretenſions to the* new diſcovered countries.

A BRAVE *Engliſh* admiral obſerves, that as God choſe the *Spaniſh* nation, for ſome ſecret judgment of his own, above all other people, to ſpread forth his holy name; ſo he remarked three things in them worthy of reprehenſion; their ingratitude, their cruelty, and the baſe condition of the people who were the authors of their proſperity. However, he is ſo far from derogating in the leaſt from the honour of *Columbus*, that he points

out

out their ingratitude as entirely levelled at him, who, he ſays, was a man of more deſert to the Chriſtian world, than any other God ever created.

COLUMBUS had fully formed his project, about the year 1480; and was reſolved to make it public: but, as the enterprize was of ſuch great importance, he choſe to apply to ſovereign princes and ſtates for their aſſiſtance and encouragement, rather than give any invitations for private adventurers to be concerned in his grand undertaking; becauſe he was ſenſible, that if he ſhould himſelf, or in conjunction with others, diſcover any rich country, the prince, to whom they owed allegiance, would claim the ſovereignty of ſuch places, and diſpoſe of them according to his pleaſure; or that other princes might ſend other armaments, after he had found the way to the countries he wanted to diſcover, and deprive him, and his fellow adventurers, of the advantage of their diſcovery. He, therefore, made his firſt propoſal to the republic of *Genoa*, imagining it would be embraced by the governors of his native country; but they, injudiciouſly, treated him with contempt, and looked upon his propoſal as a dream. *Columbus* then offered his ſervice to *John*, king of *Portugal*, to find out a way to the *Eaſt-Indies* by the weſtern ocean; and gave ſuch ſubſtantial reaſons for the attempt, that the king granted him a favourable audience, referred the matter to Don *Diego Ortez*, biſhop of *Ceuta*, and to two *Jewiſh* phyſicians, on whom he relied in affairs of diſcoveries and coſmography; but, though they eſteemed the deſign of *Columbus* as a fabulous notion, they were ſo far from abſolutely rejecting the project, that they adviſed the king to ſend a veſſel, under pre-

tence of ſailing to *Cape Verd*, to endeavour, by the courſe which *Columbus* propoſed, to diſcover the ſecret; however, the veſſel, after having been ſeveral days at ſea, and in great ſtorms, returned without making any diſcovery; when the crew deрided *Columbus* for his project, who was not ignorant of their attempt.

COLUMBUS was ſo greatly incenſed with this unexpected and ungenerous treatment, as to take an averſion to *Portugal*, and withdraw himſelf into *Spain*, to lay his propoſals before that court; diſpatching his brother *Bartholomew Columbus*, at the ſame time, to *Henry* vii. king of *England*, with charts and maps for the illuſtration of his deſign, and to requeſt the patronage of that monarch in his undertaking. *Bartholomew Columbus* was taken by pirates in his paſſage to *England*; ſo that, not making the neceſſary diſpatch, *Columbus* imparted his ſcheme to *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* king and queen of *Aragon* and *Caſtille*; whereby *England*, unhappily, loſt both the honour and profit of this important diſcovery.

IT was in the year 1484, that *Columbus* laid his propoſals before their Catholic majeſties, who then kept their court at *Cordoua*, a large city in the province of *Andaluſia*; where he met with the greateſt encouragement from *Alonſo de Quintanilla*, comptroller of the revenue of *Caſtille*, who delighted in great undertakings, looked upon *Columbus* as a man of worth, and gave him his maintenance during the ſollicitation of his tedious ſuit, which was ſo ſtrongly preſſed, that their Catholic majeſties referred the affair to *Ferdinand de Talavera*, prior of *Prado*, and confeſſor to the queen,

who

who was afterwards the firſt archbiſhop of *Granada*.

THE prior of *Prado* held an aſſembly of coſmographers, to debate upon this important matter; but, as they were little acquainted with the ſubject, and as *Columbus* would not give a full explanation, for fear he ſhould be treated as he had been in *Portugal*, they came to a reſolution very different from what he expected. Some alledged, that ſince, during ſo many ages as there were from the creation of the world, men, very converſant in maritime affairs, had known nothing of thoſe countries, which *Columbus* imagined were to be diſcovered; it was not probable that he could know more than all of them together. Others, adhering more to coſmographical reaſons, urged, that the world was ſo large that there would be no coming to the utmoſt extent of the eaſt in three years ſail, where *Columbus* ſaid his voyage was intended: in confirmation of which they alledged, that *Seneca* affirmed, there were many diſcreet men who could not agree upon the queſtion, whether the ocean was infinite, and doubted whether it could be ſailed over? or, ſuppoſing it to be navigable, whether there was any country inhabited on the other ſide, and whether it was poſſible to go to it? To this they added, that no part of this inferior ſphere was inhabited, except a ſmall compaſs, which was left in our hemiſphere above the water, and that all the reſt was ſea. There were ſtill others, who affirmed, that if *Columbus* ſhould ſail away directly weſtward, he would not be able to return to *Spain*, on account of the roundneſs of the globe; becauſe, whoever went beyond the he-

miſphere, known by *Ptolomy*, would fall down ſo low that it would be impoſſible ever to return, as it would be like climbing up a hill. *Columbus* fully anſwered, and contradicted, theſe arguments: but the aſſembly could not comprehend him; for which reaſon they judged the enterprize to be vain and impracticable; as alſo that it was unbecoming the grandeur of ſuch illuſtrious princes to proceed upon ſo imperfect an account.

THEIR Catholic majeſties, after much delay, ordered *Columbus* to be informed, "That as they "were engaged in ſeveral wars, and particularly "in the conqueſt of *Granada*, they could not en-"ter upon freſh expences; but, when that was "over, they would cauſe farther enquiry to be "made into his propoſals." With this anſwer, *Columbus* was diſmiſſed the court of *Spain*, at preſent; but he afterwards returned, and was taken into its ſervice. At firſt, he retired to *Seville*, very melancholly and diſcontented, after having been five years at court to no effect. He then cauſed the affair to be propoſed to the Duke *de Medina Sidonia*, and to the Duke *de Medina Celi*; who alſo rejected him: upon which he applied to the *French* monarch; and intended, if he would not employ him, or aſſiſt him, in his undertaking, to go over to *England*, in ſearch of his brother, of whom he had received no intelligence for a conſiderable time.

HOWEVER, he was perſuaded to continue in *Spain*, by the advice of *John Perez de Marchena*, guardian of the monaſtery of *Rabida*, near *Palos*, in *Andaluſia*, who was well acquainted with coſmography and polite literature: but, to be better informed

informed of the probability of the ſcheme which *Columbus* went upon, he ſent for *Garci Hernandez*, a phyſician, who conferred with them both, and expreſſed great ſatisfaction at what *Columbus* propoſed. This occaſioned *John Perez*, to write to queen *Iſabella*, to whom he was perſonally known, having confeſſed her ſeveral times; when her majeſty ordered him to repair to court, which was then at the town of *Santa Fe*, while the ſiege of *Granada* was carrying on; and to leave *Columbus* at *Palos*, giving him hopes of ſucceſs in his buſineſs. *John Perez* was introduced to the queen, who ordered 20,000 maravedies, or about 7 *l.* ſterling, to be ſent to *Columbus* to make his appearance at court, where he ſoon after arrived, and the affair was again taken into conſideration. But the prior of *Prado*, and ſome others, oppoſed the opinion of *Columbus*, who demanded high terms, particularly to have the titles of admiral and vice-roy of whatever countries he ſhould diſcover; which, they ſaid, was demanding too much, if the enterprize ſucceeded; and, if it ſhould not, they repreſented that it would be a great diſcredit to the undertakers, and a diſhonour to the nation: upon which the treaty ſeemed entirely to ceaſe, and *Columbus* was now determined to proceed to *France*, being equally reſolved never to return to *Portugal* upon any account.

WHILE *Chriſtopher Columbus* was thus diſconcerted at the court of *Spain*, and while the *Spaniards* were upon the verge of depriving themſelves of the treaſures of a new world, *Bartholomew Columbus* was for a long time equally unſucceſsful in his views at the court of *England*; for, as before mentioned, he was unfortunately taken

priſoner on the ſea, by ſome pirates, who ſtripped him of his cloaths, as well as of every thing elſe he had in the ſhip; by which, and a violent ſickneſs, he was reduced to great neceſſity. However, by his induſtry in making globes, and ſea charts, wherein he was very expert, he retrieved himſelf, ſo as to be in a condition of appearing at the *Engliſh* court, where he laid the propoſals of his brother before king *Henry* vii. who joyfully embraced the offers, and gave orders that *Chriſtopher Columbus* ſhould be immediately invited over to *England*. But, as *Chriſtopher* had heard no account of his brother *Bartholomew*, ſince his departure from *Portugal*, he grew impatient at the delay; having juſt cauſe to apprehend, that ſome perſon of penetration, either at *Genoa* or *Liſbon*, might endeavour to put his ſcheme in practice, ſo far as to deprive him of the honour and benefit of the diſcovery. He reflected, that through the pains he had taken to perſuade his unbelieving countrymen, and the king of *Portugal*, to give credit to what he had advanced, in relation to that part of the globe, he, perhaps, had unwarily laid open the whole ſecret; or at leaſt divulged it, with that poſitive ſanguinity peculiar to perſons, who, knowing the veracity of their aſſertion, are apt to grow too warm and unguarded in their expreſſions, againſt the obſtinate incredulity of thoſe who will ſubmit to nothing but abſolute demonſtration, in matters which their weak capacities cannot otherwiſe comprehend. Beſides, he knew it was too frequently eſteemed as a refined piece of policy, to work up the paſſions of a man, by unreaſonable contradictions, in hopes of fermenting the ſecret out of his brain; or elſe, by pretended offers

of

of doing him ſervice, on a ſuppoſition that the ſcheme is practicable to be carried into execution, ſome miniſters put a man under the indiſpenſible neceſſity of communicating to them the whole nature of the affair, not only in hopes of their patronage and aſſiſtance, but for fear of diſobliging them by a refuſal.

THESE conſiderations made *Chriſtopher Columbus* continue ſo long in his ſollicitations to the court of *Spain*; while the king of *England* would have readily taken him into his ſervice, and have ſpeedily enabled him to undertake the diſcovery of another world: but the misfortunes which happened to *Bartholomew Columbus*, prevented his brother from going early enough to the *Engliſh* court; and, when he was determined to go there, he was prevented by the court of *Spain*.

WHEN *Chriſtopher Columbus* had met with ſuch treatment from the commiſſioners, ſome ſenſible *Spaniards* were much concerned to think that this enterprize ſhould be diſappointed; particularly *Alonzo de Quintanilla*, and *Lewis de Santagel*, a clerk of the revenue of the crown of *Aragon*; who, together with *John Perez*, recommended *Columbus* to the patronage of the cardinal *Don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza*. But the commiſſioners alſo objected, that as *Columbus* ventured nothing in the diſcovery, and made himſelf admiral of a fleet belonging to their Catholic majeſties, he would not regard any diſappointment in his enterprize: upon which *Columbus* offered to lay down the eighth part of the expence; provided that it ſhould be refunded, and that he ſhould have his ſhare of the return that ſhould be made, proportionable to what

he

he advanced; yet this propoſal was alſo diſregarded: ſo that, in *January* 1492, *Columbus* ſet out from *Santa Fe* for *Cordoua*, in great anxiety; the city of *Granada* being then in the poſſeſſion of their Catholic majeſties.

THE ſame day, *Lewis de Santagel* told the queen, he was ſurprized, that ſhe, who had never wanted a ſpirit for the greateſt undertakings, ſhould now fail to ſupport an expedition where ſo little could be loſt, and ſo much might be gained: for, if the affair ſucceeded, and fell into the hands of another prince, ſhe might readily conceive how prejudicial it would be to her crown; eſpecially as *Columbus* demanded no reward if he made no diſcovery, and was willing not only to venture his perſon, but alſo to defray a part of the charge. He repreſented, that the propoſals made by *Columbus* were not ſo impracticable, as the coſmographers had reported; nor could it be eſteemed a levity, to have attempted ſuch a mighty enterprize, though it ſhould prove unſucceſsful; becauſe it became great and generous monarchs to be acquainted with the wonders and ſecrets of the world, by which many princes had obtained everlaſting renown, and ſhone faireſt in the annals of fame. Beſides, he acquainted her majeſty, that *Columbus* demanded only a million of maravedies, or 350*l.* ſterling, to fit himſelf out for the expedition; and therefore, he entreated the queen not to ſuffer the apprehenſion of ſo ſmall an expence, to diſappoint ſo great an enterprize. Her majeſty was alſo importuned, on the ſame account, by *Alonzo de Quintanilla*, who was greatly in her favour: ſhe thanked them both for their advice, and told them ſhe accepted of it; but deſired they

would

would ſtay till ſhe could a little recover her finances after the expences of a war; though, if they were of opinion that the affair ſhould be immediately put into execution, ſhe would conſent that they ſhould borrow what money was requiſite upon ſome of her jewels. Upon this reſolution, a meſſenger was ſent to *Columbus*, with a command for him to return to court; which he readily obeyed, and was well received upon his arrival at *Santa Fe*; when the ſecretary *John Coloma*, was ordered to draw up the conditions and diſpatches; after *Columbus* had ſpent eight years ineffectually, and endured many difficulties in his ſollicitations.

In a conference, held between *Columbus*, and the ſecretary *Coloma*, on the 17th of *April* 1492, the following conditions were agreed upon.

" *Firſt*, Their highneſſes, as ſovereigns of the " ocean, conſtituted Don *Chriſtopher Columbus*, " their admiral in all thoſe iſlands and continents, " that, by his induſtry, ſhould be diſcovered, or " conquered, in the ocean, during his own life; " and, after his death, to his heirs and ſucceſſors " for ever; with all the preheminencies and prero- " gatives appertaining to that office, in the ſame " manner as their great admiral of *Caſtille*, and his " predeceſſors in that office, had enjoyed the ſame " within their diſtricts. That their highneſſes " appointed *Columbus* their viceroy and governor " general of all the iſlands and continents which " he ſhould diſcover and conquer in the ocean; " and that he ſhould nominate three perſons for " the government of each of them, for each office; " and that one of them ſhould be appointed by " their highneſſes. That *Columbus* ſhould have

" the

" the tenth part of all the pearls, precious ſtones,
" gold, ſilver, ſpice, or other commodities, that
" ſhould be bought, exchanged, found, won, or
" had within the limits of his admiralſhip; de-
" ducting the charges that ſhould be made towards
" the ſame: but the other nine parts ſhould remain
" for their highneſſes. THAT if any law-ſuit
" ſhould ariſe, on account of the merchandize,
" which *Columbus* ſhould bring from any of the
" iſlands or lands he ſhould diſcover, or conquer;
" and if it ſhould belong to him, as admiral, to
" take cognizance of ſuch controverſy, it was
" agreed, that he, or his deputy, and no other
" judge, ſhould try the ſaid cauſe, if it appertained
" to the office of admiral, as the ſame had been
" enjoyed by the great admiral of *Caſtille*, or his
" predeceſſors, in their diſtricts, and according to
" juſtice. AND THAT *Columbus*, if he thought
" proper, ſhould be at liberty to lay out the eighth
" part of what ſhould be expended on all the ſhips,
" which ſhould at any time be fitted out for the
" ſame trade; and receive the eighth part of the
" profits of ſuch ſhips."

UPON the execution of theſe articles, and after receiving the proper diſpatches, with the million of maravedies, *Columbus* left *Granada*, on the 12th of *May*, and ſet out directly for the port of *Palos*, where he had ſeveral friends, and where there were many able ſeamen fit to undertake his voyage: but the ſailors were very unwilling to engage in ſo uncertain an expedition. *Columbus* carried orders to the magiſtrates of the town of *Palos*, to ſupply him with two caravels, or ſmall ſhips, which the town was obliged to furniſh for the ſervice of the crown,

crown, during three months every year: *Columbus* alſo fitted out another ſhip to be admiral, which he called the St. *Mary*, and commanded himſelf: the ſecond was called *Pinta*, of which *Martin Alonſo Pinzon* was captain, who had his brother *Francis Martinez Pinzon* on board: and the third ſhip was called *Nina*, which carried ſquare ſails, and was commanded by *Vincent Yanez Pinzon*, who was of great ſervice to *Columbus* in this affair, and lent him half a million of maravedies towards defraying the expence. As the *Pinzon*'s, who were the moſt ſubſtantial inhabitants, and moſt ſkilful mariners, in the town of *Palos*, had expreſſed ſo much approbation of the enterprize, and ſo chearfully engaged in the voyage; their example gave ſuch encouragement to the other ſailors, that *Columbus* had ſoon a ſufficient number of hands to proceed on the diſcovery of a new world; though the court, and the common people, little expected he would perform what he had promiſed: but they ſoon found, that two of the moſt fortunate events which ever happened to the *Spaniſh* monarchy fell out the ſame year; the expulſion of the moors, and the diſcovery of *America*.

THEIR Catholic majeſties ſtrictly enjoined *Columbus*, that he ſhould not touch at the mine in *Guiney*, nor come within a hundred leagues of the *Portugueſe* conqueſts: but they gave him their letters patents, directed to all kings and princes in the world; requiring them to give him a favourable and honourable reception, as their officer and commander. The ſhips were victualled for a year, having on board ninety men, and every thing was ready for beginning this important expedition; which,

which, though ſo little approved of at that time, has ever ſince been the only ſupport of the *Spaniſh* nation, and the greateſt ſource of wealth to all *Europe*: but it proved fatal to the inhabitants of *Africa*, from whence many thouſands have been tranſported as ſlaves to the new world, which *Columbus* was now going to diſcover; while the natives of *Aſia* have been prodigiouſly enriched by the ſilver, which the *African* ſlaves have laborioufly dug out of the *American* mines.

COLUMBUS, with his little ſquadron, ſet ſail from *Palos de Moguer*, on the 3d of *Auguſt* 1492; launching into the great *Atlantic* ocean, and beginning this then unparalelled navigation, with no leſs confidence in himſelf, than admiration among thoſe who ſaw him leave the ſhore, and ſteer a courſe never before attempted, by new rhumbs of winds. The admiral directed his courſe for the *Canary* iſlands; and, on the 12th of *Auguſt*, arrived at the grand *Canary*, which is ſituated in 16 degrees of weſt longitude, and between 27 and 28 degrees of north latitude. But, as the caravel *Pinta* had loſt her rudder in the paſſage, and as it was neceſſary to change the ſquare ſails of the *Nina*, into thoſe called ſhoulder of mutton ſails, that ſhe might follow the other ſhips with more ſteadineſs, and leſs danger; the admiral remained there to refit, and take in freſh proviſions, till the 6th of *September*; when he ſet ſail again upon his grand deſign: though he was informed, before his departure, that three *Portugueſe* ſhips were hovering about the *Canaries* to ſeize him, and prevent his expedition; becauſe the king of *Portugal* was under great concern,

cern, when he underſtood that *Columbus* was engaged in the ſervice of their Catholic majeſties.

ON the 7th of *September*, they loſt ſight of the *Canaries*; when many of the ſeamen expreſſed the greateſt ſigns of fear: but *Columbus* encouraged them with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of ſucceſs, and the higheſt hopes of acquiring an immenſe ſhare of wealth.

ON the 11th of *September*, being 150 leagues from the iſland of *Ferro*, the moſt weſterly of the *Canary* iſlands, they ſaw a piece of a maſt, which appeared to have been carried away by the current. Somewhat farther on, in the ſame latitude, the currents ſate ſtrong to the northward: and 50 leagues farther weſtward, on the 14th of *September* towards the evening, *Columbus* obſerved, that the needle varied to the north-weſt about half a point, as it alſo did at break of day; by which he perceived, that the needle was not directly pointed at the north ſtar, but at another fixed and inviſible point; and to vary north-weſt, was to ſhift from the north, to the left hand.

THIS variation had never been obſerved before, and occaſioned great admiration among the mariners; who were more aſtoniſhed the third day after, when they were advanced 100 leagues farther, holding the ſame courſe; becauſe the needle varied as before, to the north-weſt about evening, and in the morning again pointed upon the very ſtar.

ON the 18th, they were about 370 leagues to the weſtward of the iſland of *Ferro*; having, in their paſſage, ſeen a flame of fire fall into the ſea; and obſerved that the currents ſtill ſet to the north-eaſt: they alſo ſaw ſome water-wagtails, which

they

they imagined never fled above 18 or 20 leagues from land; but they were more ſurprized to ſee ſpots of green and yellow weeds on the ſurface of the water, which ſeemed to have been waſhed away from ſome iſlands or rocks, and made ſeveral of the ſailors conclude they were near land; eſpecially as they found a little locuſt, or graſhopper, alive upon the weeds: but others fancied there might be rocks or lands under water; and, being much intimidated, murmured againſt the continuance of the voyage. The ſame night the wind freſhened, after they had continued their courſe right before it to the weſtward, without handling their ſails: during which time, the admiral wrote down every thing worthy of notice that occurred; obſerving what winds blew, what his courſe was, what fiſh and birds were ſeen, making obſervations, and ſounding very frequently.

BEING all unacquainted with the voyage, and perceiving no hopes of diſcovering land, as nothing appeared but air and water for ſo many days, the ſeamen began to ſhew a general diſſatisfaction with the expedition. On the 22d of *September*, they let their murmurs burſt out into open complaints; reflecting on the king for having given orders for the voyage, and moſt of them agreed to proceed no further in the diſcovery; alledging, that the admiral, in a mad humour, was attempting to make himſelf great at the hazard of their lives; and that, though they had performed their duty, by ſailing farther from land than any men had ever done before, they ought not to contribute to their own deſtruction, ſtill proceeding without any reaſon till their proviſions

failed

failed them, and their ſhips would be unable to carry them back. However, *Columbus* prevented their mutiny, by encouraging ſome with aſſurances of the ſhortneſs and good ſucceſs of their voyage; or by threatening others with the force of the royal authority.

As they were under the torrid zone, and impatient of heats, which they had never before experienced in the temperate climates of *Europe*, their uneaſineſs ſtill increaſed with their diſtance from *Spain*: ſo that they renewed their inſtances for returning back again; while *Columbus*, with a generous and undaunted mind, remained deaf to all their perſuaſions, and purſued his voyage with courage and conſtancy. As the ſailors every day perceived the conſumption of their water and proviſions, they began to call that temerity in the admiral, which before they ſaid might be reſolution: for they alledged, that the time was increaſed, their proviſions leſſened, the winds ſcarce, and calms to be feared; no land in view, and its diſtance not to be known, or gueſſed at; that the danger was certain, and there was no avoiding to periſh if they continued any longer; therefore, they ſeemed determined to diſcontinue the voyage. Some of them even went ſo far, as to ſay, that, to put an end to all debates, the beſt way would be to throw the admiral privately into the ſea, and ſay he had unfortunately fell in, as he was attentively gazing at the ſtars. It cannot be denied, but this was an urgent danger, and greater perhaps than can be imagined by thoſe who never were in the like trials: beſides, theſe allegations were of themſelves of great conſideration, and capable of ſhaking the greateſt conſtancy

and valour: yet the courage of *Columbus* was invincible, and his prudence ſo ſingular, that ſometimes diſſembling, and ſometimes taking no notice of what he heard, but talking with one man or other in private, and then comforting them all in general, he at laſt brought his project to a happy iſſue.

THEIR catholic majeſties had offered an annuity of ten thouſand maravedies, being about 3 *l.* 10 *s.* ſterling, as a reward, to the firſt perſon who ſhould diſcover land; which made all the mariners diligently attend that part of their duty. But they were now ſo diſconſolate about the diſcovery, and ſo anxious about their return, that every hour ſeemed a year, until the 25th of *September*, at ſun-ſetting; when *Columbus*, as he was talking to *Vincent Yanez Pinzon*, cried out, *Land! Land!* and ſhewed a body towards the ſouth-weſt, that appeared like an iſland, about twenty-five leagues from the ſhips. This greatly encouraged the men; and the admiral ſteered his courſe that way a great part of the night, as if he believed it to be land: though this was only an artifice, between *Columbus* and *Pinzon*, to give a ſhort joy to men who were ſinking under deſpair.

IF *Columbus* had inclined a little more to the ſouthward, he would have made either the *Caribbee-Iſlands*, *Hiſpaniola*, or *Cuba*, which lay on the left or larboard ſide of him; ſome of them a-ſtern, or rather on his larboard quarter: but he held his courſe towards the *Bahama-Iſlands*. However, the next morning they all perceived that what they had taken for land, were clouds, which often look like land: but *Columbus* held on his courſe weſtward,

to

to the great regret of his men; curbing the insolence of some of them with fear, and encouraging others with hope. They observed many weeds in a line from west-north-west to east-south-east, and saw several water-wagtails; which gave them fresh hopes of land: they also perceived that the currents were not so strong as before, and turned back with the tides. But the admiral observed, that the polar stars were on the west quarter at night, and when day came on they were at the north-east quarter. He also perceived, that towards night the needles varied a whole degree, and that in the morning they were right with the star; which very much troubled and confounded the pilots, till he told them, that the occasion of it was the compass which the north star took about the pole; and this gave them some satisfaction: for that variation made them apprehensive of danger, as being so far distant from land.

On the 1st of *October*, the pilot told the admiral, that they were then 588 leagues to the westward of the island of *Ferro*: but the admiral said it was 584 by his reckoning; though he was of opinion it was 607. On the 3d of *October*, the pilot of the caravel *Nina* said he found they had sailed 650 leagues, and the pilot of the *Pinta* said 634; wherein they were mistaken, for they had always sailed before the wind: but *Columbus* still took no notice, for fear his men should be dispirited at this great run; because the greatest sea, till then known, was nothing like that extent.

The admiral still continued his course due west; as he would not lose the credit of his undertaking by turning at random from one side to the other, to discover that which he always affirmed he knew

for a certainty. This renewed the mutiny among his men; nor was it ſtrange, conſidering that ſo many men were led by one, of whom few of them had any knowledge, expoſed to ſo many dangers, and without knowing what would be the end of ſuch a long voyage. But, on the 4th of *October*, they ſaw above forty ſparrows and two gulls, which pacified them a little; and they were encouraged to proceed, by the good words given them by the admiral.

ON the 7th of *October*, ſome ſign of land appeared to the weſtward: but no man would venture to ſpeak of it, becauſe of the thickneſs of the weather; eſpecially as it was agreed, to prevent their crying land at every foot, in hopes of getting the annuity, "that whoever ſaid it, if the ſame "was not made good in three days, ſhould be for "ever excluded from that reward, though he "ſhould really afterwards make the diſcovery." However, thoſe on board the caravel *Nina*, which was much a-head, concluded it was certainly land, fired their guns, and put out their colours: but the farther they ſailed, the more their joy abated, till it entirely vaniſhed.

THEIR comfort was again revived with the ſight of great numbers of birds, and among them many land-fowls, flying from the weſt to the ſouth weſt; ſo that, conſidering, after he had ſailed ſo great a length, ſuch ſmall birds could not be far from land, *Columbus* concluded it muſt certainly be near; therefore, he altered the courſe he then held due weſt, and ſteered ſouth-weſt; alledging, that though he altered his courſe, he deviated little from his firſt deſign, following the example of the *Portugueſe*,

tugueſe, who diſcovered moſt of the iſlands in the *Eaſt-Indies*, by purſuing the flight of ſuch birds.

THE mariners ſtill continued to treat *Columbus* with contradiction and contempt: but, on *Thurſday*, the 11th of *October*, they perceived ſeveral manifeſt tokens of their being near land: for the men aboard the admiral ſaw a green ruſh near the ſhip, and a kind of large green fiſh which keep generally cloſe about the rocks. Thoſe on board the caravel *Pinta*, took up a cane artificially wrought; and ſaw abundance of weeds, freſh torn off from the ſhore. Thoſe aboard the caravel *Nina*, ſaw the branch of a thorn, with the berries on it, which appeared to be newly broke off. Theſe ſigns confirmed them in the opinion that they were approaching to ſome land, eſpecially as they brought up ſand upon ſounding, and as the wind ſhifted, which ſeemed to come from the ſhore.

COLUMBUS, being ſatisfied that he was near land, aſſembled his men together, and told them how merciful the Almighty had been to them, in carrying them with ſo much health and ſafety through ſo long and perillous a voyage; and that, as the ſigns of land were hourly more conſpicuous, he deſired them to be ſtrictly upon the watch all night; ſince they knew, by the firſt article of the inſtructions he had given them when they came out of *Spain*, that, when they had run ſeven hundred leagues without diſcovering land, they were to lie by after midnight till day, and be upon the watch; which he now ſtrongly recommended to them, as he was very confident they would diſcover land that night; and that, beſides the annuity of ten thouſand maravedies, he would alſo give a

velvet doublet to the perſon who ſhould make the diſcovery.

ABOUT ten at night, as he ſtood on the poop, *Columbus* ſaw a light: upon which he called *Peter Gutierres*, groom of the chamber to the king, and deſired him to look at it; who anſwered, that he ſaw it: but *Roderic Sanabez*, purſer of the fleet, could not diſcern it, till it was afterwards ſeen twice, appearing like a little candle raiſed up, and then taken down. However, *Columbus* was aſſured it was a true light, and that they were near land; which was ſoon proved to be the caſe; for the light was made by people paſſing from one houſe to another; and, about two in the morning, the ſhip called the *Pinta*, being the beſt ſailor of the three, and therefore uſually a-head of the admiral, gave the ſignal of land, which was firſt ſeen with the naked eye, when they were within two leagues of the ſhore, by *Roderic de Triana*, one of the common ſeamen on board the *Pinta*: but their Catholic majeſties afterwards adjudged that the admiral was intitled to the reward offered to the firſt diſcoverer of land, becauſe he ſaw a light on the iſland before; and ordered him to be paid out of the ſhambles of *Seville*, as the beſt fund for his ſecurity.

ON the appearance of day, they perceived it was an iſland about fifteen leagues in length, plain, watered with a great lake, and well planted; but generally flat low lands, without hills. The iſland was very populous, and the natives came crouding down to the ſhore, expreſſing the greateſt aſtoniſhment at the ſight of the ſhips, which they imagined to be ſome monſters, and waited with the utmoſt impatience

impatience to know what they were; while the *Spaniards* were equally eager to get upon land, and met with no oppoſition from the natives. *Columbus* believed there was no danger to be apprehended from the *Indians*, and went on ſhore in his boat, with the royal colours flying; being followed by the captains *Martin Alonſo Pinzon*, and *Vincent Yanez Pinzon*, who carried the colours of their enterprize, adorned with a green croſs and ſome crowns, about which were inſcribed the names of their Catholic majeſties.

As ſoon as they came on ſhore, they proſtrated themſelves to the earth, which they kiſſed on their knees; returning thanks to the Almighty God for the goodneſs he had ſhewn them in making this diſcovery of another world. The admiral then ſtood up, and gave the name of St. *Salvador*, or St. *Saviour*, to the iſland, which the natives called *Guanahani*; being one of thoſe afterwards called the *Lucayo*, or *Bahama* iſlands, 950 leagues from the *Canaries*, and diſcovered after they had ſailed thirty-three days. *Columbus* immediately afterwards formally took poſſeſſion of the iſland, in the name of their Catholic majeſties, for the crowns of *Caſtille* and *Leon*, teſtified by *Roderic de Eſcovedo*, notary of the fleet, in the preſence of a great multitude of the natives. After this, the *Spaniards* acknowledged him for their admiral and viceroy; ſwearing obedience to him, as the repreſentative of their king in that country, with all the joy and ſatisfaction that naturally reſulted from ſo great and ſingular an event; all of them imploring his pardon, for the trouble and uneaſineſs which they had given him, by their timidity and inconſtancy.

THE *Indians*, all this time, ſtood amazed, and gazing at the *Spaniards*; without attempting to give them the leaſt interruption, while they were thus taking poſſeſſion of their country, which was to be ſoon after followed by the deſtruction of its inhabitants; who conceived, from the motion of the ſhips, that they were living things; and, from their magnitude, they took them for ſome ſtrange ſea monſters never before ſeen on thoſe coaſts. But, when the *Spaniards* landed, the natives were more aſtoniſhed at their beards, complexion, and apparel: nor were the *Spaniards* in leſs admiration at the mien and ſhape of the *Indians*; who, being in their original ſimplicity, were, both men and women, entirely naked; moſt of them young, or not above thirty years of age. They were of a middle ſtature, well ſhaped, fleſhy, and their ſkins of an olive colour, like the natives of the *Canaries*. They had good features, though their faces were ſomewhat diſguiſed by their extraordinary high foreheads; as alſo by painting themſelves with black, white, and red colours, not only on their faces, but on their bodies. They wore their hair, which was black, down to their ears, and ſome of them to their necks, tied to the head with a ſtring like treſſes; but the principal ornament among them was a thin gold plate, in the form of a creſcent, which hung from the noſe over the upper lip. Their arms were ſpears pointed with the bones of fiſh; for they had no knowledge of iron metal, inſtead of which they made uſe of ſharp ſtones in their timber-work.

THE admiral, believing the *Indians* to be a gentle and ſimple people, ordered ſome ſtrings of glaſs-

glaſs-beads, caps, and toys of ſmall value, to be diſtributed among them; at which they ſeemed infinitely pleaſed, and immediately hung the beads about their necks; teſtifying, by all imaginable ſigns, the eſteem they had for theſe preſents: in return for which, they gave the *Spaniards* gold, proviſions, and javelins.

When the admiral returned to his ſhips, the *Indians* followed him; ſome ſwimming, and others rowing themſelves in their canoes, which are veſſels made out of the body of a tree, ſome of them holding forty men, and others only two. The *Spaniards* invited them on board, where they brought parrots and cotton yarn, being all the merchandize they had, to exchange for European triffles; on which they ſet ſo high a value, that they gathered up the bits of glazed diſhes, or broken earthen-ware, with as much joy as the *Spaniards* would have taken up pearls and gold. But all things borrow their value from their rarity; for which reaſon the *Indians* little eſteemed gold and pearls; as they were as common and unneceſſary among them, as bells, and other toys, were among the *Spaniards*, whom they looked upon with admiration, imagining they were men come from heaven; and therefore they were anxious of having any thing from them to keep as a memorial to their honour.

The admiral enquired of the *Indians*, as well as could be done by ſigns, how ſeveral of them came by ſcars on their bodies; when they made him underſtand, that the people of ſome other iſlands wanted to make them priſoners, and that they received thoſe wounds in defending themſelves. *Co-*

lumbus

Iumbus alſo perceived, that the *Indians* had much ſenſibility and ingenuity; which made him enquire, from whence they had their gold plates? They anſwered, it came from the ſouthward; where they gave the *Spaniards* to underſtand, there were ſeveral large countries well repleniſhed with that metal.

THE admiral, having this information that there were other lands, was determined to go in ſearch of them. Indeed, the iſland he had diſcovered, was but a very inconſiderable part of what was to be found among the other iſlands, excluſive of the grand continent of *America*: for this iſland was only one of the *Lucayas* or *Bahamas*, which are very numerous, and about twelve of them of a conſiderable extent; being ſituated between 73 and 81 degrees of weſt-longitude, and between 21 and 27 degrees of north-latitude. Accordingly, on the 14th of *October* in the morning, the admiral, with the boats, took a view of the coaſt to the north-weſt, till he came to a ridge of rocks, where there was a ſafe and ſpacious harbour: but, as the ſeamen were tired with rowing, and as *Columbus* perceived that it was improper to make any long continuance upon the iſland, he took ſeven *Indians* to learn the *Spaniſh* tongue, and returned to the ſhips; after which, he ſet out on the diſcovery of the other iſlands.

ON the 15th of *October*, they arrived at an iſland, about ſeven leagues diſtant from the firſt; having obſerved a great many others in their paſſage. The admiral called this iſland St. *Mary of Conception*; and, finding that the natives were like thoſe of *Saint Salvador*, he proceeded farther, till the

the 17th, when he came to another island, which he called *Ferdinanda*, in honour of the king. This island appeared to abound in water; being beautified with many meadows and groves, interspersed with some little agreeable hills, which there were not in the others; and affording a great variety of birds, that sung sweetly, and flew in flocks together, different from what are to be seen in *Europe*. There were also several lakes, and near one of them they saw an alligator, about seven feet long, which they killed. The inhabitants were like the other *Indians*; but appeared to have more sagacity, covering their nakedness with cotton cloths, and managing the exchange of their commodities to a greater advantage.

All the *Indians*, which the *Spaniards* had hitherto discovered, inhabited little towns, consisting of ten or twelve houses, like tents; some round, and others long, with an open portal before them, covered with leaves of trees, well fitted against the inclemency of the weather, with vents for the smoke, and ridges at the top; but they had no houshold furniture. Finding nothing more in *Ferdinanda* than in *St. Salvador*, and the *Conception*, the admiral proceeded to another island, called *Saomoto*, by the *Indians*, which he named *Isabella*, in honour of the Catholic queen; taking possession of it before witnesses, and the notary, as he had done in the others. The natives were like those of the other islands, and informed the *Spaniards*, by pointing to the south, that there was a large island, called *Cuba*; which the admiral believed to be *Cipango*, and therefore would not lose time to visit the adjacent islands; but steered west south-west,

and

and afterwards ſouth-eaſt, when he diſcovered eight iſlands, lying north and ſouth, which he called *del Arena*, or ſand iſlands, becauſe there was ſhoal-water about them; and, on the 27th of *October*, he diſcovered the iſland of *Cuba*, to which he gave the name of *Juana*, or *Johanna*.

THIS iſland, which ſtill retains the name of *Cuba*, is ſituated between 74 and 87 degrees of weſt longitude, and between 20 and 23 degrees of north latitude; being about 800 miles long, and about 70 broad. The country yielded a beautiful proſpect of hills and plains, riſing grounds and ſhores; the woods looking very thick, and the trees tall, being loaded with fair bloſſoms, and rich fruit, about which were abundance of birds. The admiral anchored in a great river, and called it *St. Salvador*; from whence he diſcerned two houſes; and, being deſirous of obtaining ſome information about the country, ſent ſome of his men there; at whoſe approach the *Indians* fled, leaving their nets and fiſhing-tackle behind, as many others did wherever the ſhips appeared. Upon this, the admiral ſent two *Spaniards* on ſhore, accompanied with two *Indians*, ſupplying them with things to barter, and ſetting them ſix days for their return, with inſtructions how to ſpeak in the name of their Catholic majeſties; ordering them to go up the country, and get him what intelligence they were able, without committing the leaſt prejudice to any of the natives.

IN the mean time, the ſhips were refitted, and the *Spaniards* returned on the 5th of *November*, with three of the native *Indians*; when they informed the admiral that they had travelled twenty-two leagues,

and

and found a village of fifty houſes, containing about a thouſand inhabitants, who came out to meet them, led them by the arms, and lodged them in one of their beſt houſes, where they treated them with the moſt extraordinary reſpect, kiſſing their feet and hands, as believing they came from heaven; and giving them boiled roots to eat, which taſted like cheſnuts. They alſo intreated the *Spaniards* to continue among them, or at leaſt to repoſe themſelves for a ſhort time; and, when they ſaw them returning to their ſhips, they offered to bear them company; for the two *Indians* had informed the natives there was no danger to be apprehended from the *Spaniards*. The *Spaniſh* ſailors likewiſe reported, that they had ſeen ſeveral other towns in their journey, where they were entertained with great hoſpitality: they alſo ſaid, the country was well planted with roots, and indian corn or maize; that it abounded in oaks, pines, palms, and cotton ſhrubs; that they ſaw a great variety of birds, among which were partridges and nightingales; but found no other beaſts than a few dogs, which never barked; that the *Indians* had great quantities of cotton-yarn, which they made into nets for their beds, and little clouts to cover their privities, all the reſt of their bodies being naked; but that they would exchange a little baſket full of cotton, for a leather thong, a piece of glazed ware, or a bit of a looking-glaſs; and, on being aſked if they had any gold or pearls, they pointed to the eaſtward, ſaying, there was abundance at *Bohio*.

THE admiral then enquired of the *Indians*, on board the ſhips, if they knew where gold was to be

be had; when they anſwered, *Cubanacan*; by which the *Spaniards* imagined they meant the Great Cham, and that *Tartary* or *China* was not far off, becauſe the *Indians* made ſigns as if it was only four days journey; but they ſoon underſtood that *Cubanacan* was a province in the middle of the iſland of *Cuba*, where there were mines of gold.

UPON this intelligence, the admiral ordered ſome *Indians* to be taken from ſeveral parts, and carried into *Spain*, that every one might give an account of his own country, as witneſſes of the diſcovery. Accordingly, twelve men, women, and children, were taken; which was ſo far from giving any offence, that, as they were ready to ſail, an *Indian*, who was huſband to one of the women, and father to two boys on board, came to the ſhip, and deſired to be taken along with his wife and children; when he was admitted, and all of them treated with great civility.

ON the 14th of *November*, the admiral ſtood to the eaſtward, for the diſcovery of *Bohio*, or a land full of cottages; the word *Bohio* ſignifying a cottage among the *Indians*: but the wind was contrary, and obliged *Columbus* to ſpend three or four days about the iſland of *Iſabella*, where he was afraid of landing, leaſt the *Indians* ſhould make their eſcape. As there were great hopes of diſcovering gold in *Bohio*, *Martin Alonzo Pinzon* deſerted the admiral, with a view of getting there before him, and enriching himſelf; which occaſioned *Columbus*, as the wind continued againſt him, to return to *Cuba*, where he ſailed 107 leagues to the eaſtward along the coaſt; and ſet out from the eaſtern point, on the 5th of *December*, for *Bohio*; where

where he arrived the next day, being 18 leagues from *Cuba*.

THE admiral entered a port, which he called *St. Nicholas*; being ſafe, ſpacious, and deep, encompaſſed with thick woods; though the land was hilly, and the trees ſmall. A pleaſant river diſembogued itſelf into the harbour; and there were ſeveral canoes on the ſhore capable of carrying 50 or 60 perſons. However, as they found no people, the admiral proceeded farther to the northward, till he came to a place which he called the port of *Conception*, to the ſouthward of an iſland, which he called *Tortuga*, ten leagues from *Bohio*. He now found that the iſland of *Bohio* was very large; that the ſoil and the trees were like thoſe of *Spain*; as alſo that they took ſeveral fiſh known in *Spain*; and that they had heard the nightingale ſing, with other *European* birds: he therefore called the iſland *la Eſpanola*, or the *Spaniſh* iſland, afterwards corruptly called *Hiſpaniola*: for having named the firſt iſland *San Salvador*, or *St. Saviour*, in honour of God; the ſecond the *Conception*, with reſpect to the virgin *Mary*; the third *Ferdinanda*, for king *Ferdinand*; the fourth *Iſabella*, in honour of the queen; and the fifth *Juana* for the prince their ſon; he thought proper the name of *Spain* ſhould have the ſixth place; though ſome of his people told him, it would be more proper to call it *Caſtellana*; becauſe only the kingdoms of *Caſtille* and *Leon* were concerned in that conqueſt.

THE admiral was deſirous of taking a view of the country, and of making an enquiry about the gold which he expected to find there: but the natives fled from the *Spaniards*, and gave one another

ther notice where they were by fires. *Columbus* then ſent ſix men well armed to travel up the country, who returned without finding any people, and repreſented it as a very delightful place: but, as three ſailors were in a wood adjacent to the mouth of the harbour, they ſaw a great number of naked *Indians*, who fled from them; when the ſailors run after them, and ſeized a woman, who had a little plate of gold hanging at her noſe. The *Spaniards* conducted her to the admiral, who gave her hawks-bells, and ſtrings of glaſs beads: he alſo cauſed a ſhirt to be put upon her, and ſent her away with three of the *Indians* he had brought with him, and three *Spaniards* to accompany her to her habitation, which was four leagues diſtant to the ſouth-eaſt; where the next day he ſent nine *Spaniards* more, with an *Indian* of *Sal Salvador*.

THE *Spaniards* found a town conſiſting of about a thouſand houſes, which, on their approach, were abandoned by the inhabitants: but an *Indian* went after, and overtook them; who extolled the *Spaniards* in ſo high a manner, as to prevail on the natives to return. The *Indians* were aſtoniſhed at the *Spaniards*, laid their hands on their heads by way of honour and reſpect, carried them proviſions, and deſired they would ſtay that night among them. The *Spaniards* returned with an account that the country abounded in proviſions; that the people were whiter, and of better countenances, than thoſe of the other iſlands, and more tractable; as alſo, that the country which produced gold was more to the eaſtward.

HAVING received this information, though the wind was contrary, the admiral departed from the weſt end of the iſland, and ſailed along the north coaſt:

coaſt: in which paſſage, he took an *Indian* with his canoe into the ſhip, gave him ſome toys, and ſent him to land; when the *Indian* ſpoke ſo favourably of the *Spaniards* to his countrymen, that many of them were encouraged to come on board the ſhips. The *Indians* brought only ſome ſmall grains of pure gold, hanging at their noſes, which they freely gave to the *Spaniards*; and being aſked from whence that gold was brought, they anſwered by ſigns, that there was great plenty of it farther on. But when the admiral enquired for the iſland of *Cipango*, they imagined he meant *Cibao*, where moſt gold was found upon the iſland, and pointed to the place.

THE admiral was informed, that the cazique, or the king of this part of the iſland, was coming to pay him a viſit, attended by two hundred men, with his tutor and counſellors; the cazique being carried on a bier on their ſhoulders; and when he came on board, the *Spaniards* were ſurprized to ſee what great reſpect they paid him, and how ſedately he behaved himſelf. The admiral gave the cazique a piece of cloth, ſome amber beads, a pair of red ſhoes, and a bottle of orange flower-water; with which he was extremely well pleaſed, and gave the admiral a gold girdle, that looked like thoſe in *Spain*, though the workmanſhip was different, and ſome plates of gold. The cazique offered the admiral any thing in his country, and expreſſed great concern that they could not underſtand one another. The admiral, by means of the *Indian* interpreter, informed the cazique, that he was commander for their catholic majeſties, who were the greateſt ſovereigns in the world: but neither the cazique, nor

his attendants, would believe any other, than that the *Spaniards* came from heaven. The *Indians* were treated with great civility and generosity; the admiral paying great honour to the cazique, who returned with great satisfaction to the town where he resided, which was twelve miles up the country.

THE admiral was resolved to make a further discovery of the country, and set sail on the 19th of *December*; being persuaded that *Hispaniola* had many capes and harbours, with a temperate air, and a delightful soil. Several towns appeared on the shore, and many *Indians* brought provisions to the ships; informing the admiral, that their king, or cazique, desired he would make a visit to his town; and that he was waiting for him, with several of his people, on a point of land. The admiral accepted the invitation, and went ashore in his boats; when the king sent him provisions and parrots: the admiral also presenting the *Indians* with hawks-bells, glass toys, and some pieces of tin; after which, he returned to the ships, though the *Indians*, particularly the women and children, greatly regretted his departure, all of them believing that the *Spaniards* were celestial beings.

ON the 22d of *December*, a messenger came to the admiral from *Guacanagari*, the king of the country, desiring him to come to his town, and that he would give him all his possessions, which were extensive, as he was one of the five sovereigns of the island. The messenger brought the admiral a girdle, adorned with small fish-bones, like seed pearl, curiously wrought, and four fingers broad; as also a vizor of beaten gold: upon which, the admiral sent his notary, and six *Spaniards*, to pay his com-

compliments to *Guacanagari*, who came out to meet them; all his people gazing on them with joy and admiration. The king gave the notary ſome cotton cloths, parrots, and pieces of gold; his people giving the *Spaniards* what they were able; and valuing the *Spaniſh* toys as religious relics.

On the 24th, the admiral viſited *Guacanagari*, whoſe principal town was about fourteen miles from the port; where he continued ſometime, and then returned on board; having met with a very hoſpitable reception. The weather being fair, and the ſea calm, the ſailor that was at the helm left it to a grummet; though the admiral, during the whole voyage, ordered the ſteerſmen never to quit the helm: but the ſtill calm invited the ſeamen to ſleep, who imagined they were out of all danger, when the current carried the ſhip along very greatly, till it ſtruck on a rock, with ſuch a dreadful noiſe, that it could be heard at the diſtance of a league. When the rudder ſtruck, the admiral was firſt up; though he had not ſlept two days and a night before: the maſter then came up, and was ordered, as the boat was out, to let fall an anchor at the ſtern; by which means they might work out the ſhip with the help of the capſtain. However, inſtead of finding his orders properly executed, the admiral perceived ſome of his men were making away in the boat to the caravel that lay to the windward, half a league from his own ſhip. The admiral then ordered the ſhip to be lightened, and the maſt to be cut down: but ſhe ſprung a leak between the ribs, and lay down on a ſide, opened near the keels, and was ſoon full of water: ſo that if the

wind had blown, or the ſea been rough, every man on board muſt have periſhed; though, if the maſter had done what the admiral ordered him, the ſhip would have been got off ſafe. The boat returned to their aſſiſtance, with ſome additional hands from the caravel *Nina*: but, as there was no poſſibility of preſerving the ſhip, proper care was taken for ſaving the men. Accordin gly, the admiral ſent a meſſage to *Guacanagari*, acquainting him of this misfortune; upon which the king and his brothers immediately brought their canoes to the wreck, took off all upon decks, and carried them ſafe to land; with ſtrong aſſurances of their remaining untouched.

Two days after *Guacanagari* went aboard the caravel *Nina*, where he found the admiral in great affliction for the loſs of his ſhip; but told him what had been gathered from the wreck was ready to be delivered to him on ſhore, comforted him in his diſtreſs, and offered him all the aſſiſtance in his power: he alſo preſented him with ſome gold; and, obſerving the admiral valued this metal, he told him he would cauſe ſome to be brought him from *Cibao*. The *Indian* prince complained of the *Caribbees*, who carried away his people; aſſuring the admiral, it was on that account his people fled at firſt from the *Spaniards*, whom they imagined to be their enemies. The admiral ſhewed his arms to *Guacanagari*, offering to defend him, which gave him great ſatisfaction; but he chiefly admired the cannon, upon whoſe firing the *Indians* fell down as if they had been dead. After this the king returned to ſhore; having invited the admiral to pay him another viſit, to eat *Axis* and *Cazabi*, which was their principal diet.

As

As the admiral found the *Indians* were ſuch inoffenſive and hoſpitable people, ſo ready to afford aſſiſtance to ſtrangers in diſtreſs, and their king ſo willing to accommodate the *Spaniards* with whatever they deſired; he came to a reſolution of leaving ſome men in that part of the country, that they might make farther diſcoveries, trade with the people, and learn the language; becauſe he intended ſoon to ſail back to *Spain*, and when he returned to *Hiſpaniola*, he expected to find ſome perſons capable of giving directions how to form the ſettlements, which he thought it would be neceſſary to make upon the iſland. In purſuance of this reſolution, the admiral built a fort with the timber of his wrecked ſhip, in a harbour, which he called the port of *Nativity*. The fort had a ditch round it, and was finiſhed in ten days; being ſtrong enough to be defended againſt the natives, who were ſhewn, and dreaded the effect of the *Spaniſh* arms, eſpecially the artillery.

THE admiral had ſeveral motives for leaving a garriſon here; becauſe, when it was known in *Spain*, that people had been left there to ſettle, the *Spaniards* would be more inclinable to go over: beſides, as he had only his own ſhip, all his people could not be contained in it, without great inconvenience: to which may be added, that he found ſeveral of his people very willing to continue among the *Indians*, who had ſhewn them ſo much friendſhip and affability; as alſo, that the admiral intended to carry with him ſome of the natives of the country, and of the moſt valuable things produced in it, in confirmation of the diſcovery. He made choice of thirty-nine men to ſtay in the fort,

under the command of *James de Arana*, with full power, as he had received it from their majeſties; leaving with them a ſhip-carpenter, a caulker, a cooper, a tailor, and a gunner; who were furniſhed with proviſions for a year, ſome ſeeds to ſow, and ſeveral things to barter; as alſo, all the great guns, and other arms in the ſhip, with the boat belonging to it. He exhorted the men to obey their commander, to pay reſpect to *Guacanagari*, and offer no offence to his people; giving them the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that he would ſpeedily return to them with a greater power.

BEFORE his departure, the admiral paid another viſit to *Guacanagari*, who received him with great ſtate; being attended by five of his caziques, or tributary princes, all with crowns of gold upon their heads. The king preſented his crown to the admiral; and the caziques made him a preſent of ſome plates of gold, made of grains beat together between two ſtones. The admiral gave *Guacanagari* a collar of beautiful beads, recommended the *Spaniards* to his friendſhip, and told him he had commanded them to aſſiſt him againſt the *Caribbees*. The admiral alſo promiſed that he would ſoon return with preſents from the king of *Spain*; and *Guacanagari* anſwered him with great ſigns of ſorrow for his departure; which the admiral would not have made ſo ſoon, if he had not been apprehenſive that the caravel *Pinta* would get home ſafe, and her people give ſome information againſt him to conceal their own crime.

ON the 4th of *January* 1493, the admiral left the port of the *Nativity*, ſailing eaſtward till the 6th, when he diſcovered the caravel *Pinta* ſailing toward

toward him before the wind. They returned towards *Hiſpaniola*, and *Martin Alonſo Pinzon* made his excuſe for having parted company, pretending to have been forced away by ſtreſs of weather: but the admiral thought it improper to enter into a diſpute about the matter; though he knew he left him voluntarily, and underſtood he had got a great deal of gold by bartering with the natives of *Hiſpaniola* for trifles, half of which the captain took for himſelf, and gave the other half among his ſeamen.

THE admiral was now in ſpirits, on being happily joined by the other ſhip; and continued for ſeveral days ſailing along the iſland, giving names to ſeveral capes and harbours. He ſent ſeven men with the boat for water, on the 12th of *January*, who ſaw fifty-five naked *Indians*, with long hair, like the women in *Spain*, armed with bows and arrows, ſwords made of hard palm wood, and heavy ſpears; their heads being adorned with a kind of coronets made of beautiful feathers. They were at firſt prevailed on to ſell two of their bows to the *Spaniards*; but were ſo far from ſelling any more, that they began to offer them violence; upon which the *Spaniards* fired, and wounded three of the *Indians*, who immediately fled, and left their arms behind them. This was the firſt time that the *Spaniards* received any act of hoſtility from the *Indians* of *Hiſpaniola*, which gave the admiral ſome uneaſineſs; though he knew it would make them ſenſible of the weight of the *Spaniſh* arms,

ON the 14th, a great number of *Indians* appeared on the ſhore, and the admiral ordered the boat's crew to be upon their guard: but the *Indians*

came as if nothing had happened, and their cazique went on board the caravel, where he was treated with great reſpect, and preſented the admiral with his crown of gold. The next day, four young *Indians* came to the caravel in canoes; who acquainted the admiral with many particulars, ſhewed him the iſland of St. *John*, and appeared ſo intelligent, that the admiral reſolved to carry them into *Spain*.

As the caravels were leaky, the admiral ſet ſail on his return to *Europe*, on the 16th of *January*; advancing ſixteen leagues with the wind at weſt-north-weſt; when the *Indians* he had on board, pointed to the iſlands of St. *John*, *Martinico*, and the *Caribbees*: but, though the admiral was deſirous of taking a view of thoſe iſlands, he was afraid of diſpiriting his men, as the wind freſhened; and, therefore, ſteered directly for *Spain*, advancing ſucceſsfully for ſeveral days.

THE caravel *Pinta* was no good ſailor on a bowling, becauſe ſhe had little benefit of her mizen-maſt, ſo that they made little way, as the admiral was ſometimes obliged to lie by for her. Having ſailed ſeveral days, changing their courſe according to the winds, they endeavoured to keep their reckoning, and imagined they were to the eaſtward of the *Azores*; becauſe they reckoned more leagues than they really ſailed, being entirely miſtaken in the way they made to the northward; ſo that, inſtead of any of the *Azores*, they would more probably have fallen in with ſome of the *Madeira* iſlands: but the admiral, who was now experienced at reckoning their run, found one hundred and fifty leagues leſs than the others.

ON

ON the 12th of *February*, the ſea began to ſwell with great and dangerous ſtorms; which obliged the ſhips to drive without any ſail, during the night. The next morning the wind ſlackened; but, on the 13th at night, it aroſe again, with dreadful waves: ſo that, as the danger was imminent, and as there was no other way to avoid it, the admiral let his ſhip run before the wind; his example being followed by the captain of the *Pinta*, who ſoon after diſappeared. On the 14th, after ſun-riſing, the wind blew fiercer; and the admiral was now the more afraid of periſhing, as all his people believed the *Pinta* was already loſt.

THE admiral thought it was impoſſible to ſurvive the danger of this terrible ſtorm; but, that ſome knowledge might come to their Catholic majeſties of what he had done in their ſervice, he wrote a narrative on parchment of what he had diſcovered, in how many days he performed the voyage, and what way he had done it; with an account of the nature of thoſe lands, and of the inhabitants; as alſo informing them, that their majeſties ſubjects were left in poſſeſſion of what he had diſcovered. This writing was folded up, ſealed, and addreſſed to their Catholic majeſties; with the promiſe of a reward, on the outſide, of a thouſand ducats, to any perſon who ſhould deliver it to them ſealed; becauſe, that, if any foreigner found it, the promiſed reward might induce him not to give it to another. The admiral then wrapped the writing in an oiled cloth, incloſed in a ball of wax, which he put into an empty caſk, bunged it cloſe up, and threw it into the ſea. He alſo placed another caſk on the higheſt part of the

ſhip,

ſhip, with a copy of the ſame writing incloſed in the ſame manner; ſo that, if the ſhip ſunk, the caſk might ſtill remain above water.

ALL the ſeamen expected to periſh in the ſtorm, and went to their devotions: after which, they caſt lots who ſhould go on pilgrimage to the lady of *Guadalupe*, if they eſcaped, and the lot fell upon the admiral. Then they drew again, who ſhould go to the lady of *Loretto* in *Italy*, on their arrival in *Europe*, which fell on *Peter de Villa*, a mariner. As the ſtorm ſtill increaſed, they all made a vow to go barefoot, in their ſhirts, at their landing, to ſome church dedicated to the *Virgin Mary*; beſides which, every one made private vows for himſelf. But heaven, having juſt favoured the diſcovery of a new world, now alſo favoured its diſcoverer: the ſtorm began to abate; and, on the 15th of *February*, they ſaw land a-head, bearing from them eaſt-north-eaſt; which ſome took for the iſland of *Madeira*, and others for *Cape Roxent*, or the rock of *Liſbon*: though the admiral inſiſted they were the *Azores*, which they really were.

THEY plied to and fro with great difficulty; and, on the 18th, came to an anchor on the north ſide of the iſland of St. *Mary*. Soon after, three men made a ſignal to the caravel; upon which the admiral ſent the boat for them, who brought him refreſhments of bread and fowl from the governor, whoſe name was Don *John de Caſtenada*. The next day, he ordered one half of his men to go out in proceſſion to an adjacent hermitage, where was a chapel, dedicated to the *Virgin Mary*, to perform their vow; telling them, that when they returned,

he

he would go out with the other half; and ſent to the *Portugueſe*, to bring him a clergyman to celebrate maſs. The men went barefoot, and in their ſhirts, to the hermitage; where the *Portugueſe* governor fell upon them, and made them priſoners. The governor, and ſeveral *Portugueſe*, then came into the boat, and made towards the admiral, to demand hoſtages, which were offered him; but the governor would not venture his perſon. The admiral then aſked him, why, after having ſent him refreſhments, and invited him on ſhore, he had ſo baſely detained his men, notwithſtanding the two nations of *Caſtille* and *Portugal* were at peace? He alſo offered to ſhew the governor his commiſſion, to convince him that he was employed in the ſervice of their Catholic majeſties: but the governor anſwered, "He knew nothing of them, "or their commiſſions, nor did he fear them." He likewiſe told the admiral, that what he had done was purſuant to the order of his *Portugueſe* majeſty; when the admiral replied, "That, if "his men and boat were not immediately reſtored, "he would take and carry away double the num-"ber of *Portugueſe* priſoners, into *Spain*." But, the next day, the *Portugueſe* governor ſent the boat, with two clergymen, a notary, and five ſeamen, to the admiral, who gave them ſecurity to come on board the caravel, where he ſhewed them his commiſſion; upon which, they returned, releaſed his men, and reſtored the boat; when the admiral underſtood, that the king of *Portugal* had ſent orders, to all places under his dominion, to ſecure the perſon of the admiral by any means in their power.

HAVING

HAVING recovered his men, and the weather being fit to ſail for *Spain*, he left the *Azores*, the 24th of *February*, and ſteered his courſe eaſt: but, on the 2d of *March*, he met with another terrible ſtorm; when they all caſt lots who ſhould go on a pilgrimage to *St. Mary de Cinta en Guelva*, and the lot fell upon the admiral. They drove with all their ſails furled, in the greateſt danger, till the 4th of *March*, when the admiral diſcovered the land and the rock of *Liſbon*, where he reſolved to put into harbour to avoid the ſtorm; being unable to continue at *Caſcais*, a town ſituated at the mouth of the river *Tagus*, 17 miles eaſt of *Liſbon*.

THE king of *Portugal* was then at *Valparaiſo*, to whom the admiral wrote a letter, ſignifying, "That their majeſties of *Spain*, his ſovereigns, "had given him orders not to avoid entering the "ports of *Portugal*, to get what he wanted for "his money." The admiral alſo deſired permiſſion to go up to *Liſbon*, for the better ſecurity of his ſhip; as likewiſe to ſatisfy his majeſty, that he came not from *Guinea*, but from the *Indies*. The maſter of a galeon went on board the admiral in an armed boat, and ordered him to go up with him, to give an account of himſelf before the officers of *Liſbon*: but *Columbus* anſwered, "That he was "admiral to their majeſties of *Spain*, and that it "was not incumbent upon him to give ſuch an ac-"count of himſelf; nor would he go out of his "ſhip, unleſs he was compelled by force." The *Portugueſe* maſter, then deſired that the admiral would condeſcend to ſhew him his commiſſion; which he readily produced: whereupon the maſter returned to the galeon, and reported what had paſſed;

paſſed; when the captain went on board the caravel, with drums, trumpets, and hautboys; offering to ſerve *Columbus*, in whatever he ſhould command.

As ſoon as it was publickly known at *Liſbon*, that the admiral came from the *Indies*, and had ſome *Indians* in the ſhip, the citizens crouded on board to have the pleaſure of ſeeing ſo enterprizing a man, and ſo ſtrange a people; ſome of them applauding the glorious undertaking; while others reviled the miniſters of *Portugal*, whoſe avarice and incredulity had loſt their king and country the honour and advantage of the diſcovery.

THE next day, the admiral received a letter from the king of *Portugal*, giving him an invitation to come to his palace of *Valparaiſo*; which the admiral was obliged to do, to avoid ſhewing any miſtruſt. The nobility, and officers of ſtate, were ordered to attend the admiral, and conduct him to the king, who received him with much honour, admitted him to ſit covered in his preſence, and expreſſed great ſatisfaction at the ſucceſs of his voyage. His majeſty then aſked him ſome particulars concerning his expedition; ſaying, he was of opinion, that, according to the articles ſtipulated with the kings of *Caſtille*, the conqueſt of the new diſcovered country belonged to the kings of *Portugal*, rather than to thoſe of *Caſtille*. To which the admiral replied, "He had not ſeen thoſe articles; nor knew any more, than that their Catholic majeſties had commanded him not to go to the gold mine, nor to *Guinea*; which had been proclaimed in all the ports of *Andaluſia*, before he ſet out upon his voyage." The king graciouſly anſwered, "He

" He believed he wanted no vouchers in that par-
" ticular;" and then ordered the prior of *Crato*, who was the principal perſon attending his majeſty, to entertain the admiral. The next day, the king acquainted the admiral, that if he wanted any thing he ſhould have it: he then made him ſit down, and aſked many queſtions relating to the voyage, the new countries, the latitudes, the people, and other things about thoſe parts; expreſſing great concern for having loſt the good fortune of ſuch a diſcovery: and there were alſo ſome perſons about the king, who offered to kill the admiral, that what he had diſcovered might be concealed: but his majeſty diſdained ſo ignoble a thought, and abhorred ſo infamous an action. However, the king intimated to *Columbus*, he thought the diſcovery belonged to *Portugal*; becauſe the admiral had reſided moſt of his life in that kingdom. To which the admiral anſwered, that, as his majeſty would not accept of the overtures he had made him, he went out with a commiſſion from their Catholic majeſties.

ON the 11th of *March*, the admiral took leave of the king, who had ordered ſeveral of his nobility to attend him to *Liſbon*. They conducted him through *Villa Franca*, where the queen was in the monaſtery of St. *Anthony*, whoſe hand *Columbus* had the honour to kiſs, and gave her an account of his voyage. Upon his departure from the queen, the king ſent a meſſenger to inform him, that if he was inclined to go into *Caſtille* by land, he would order him to be properly attended, find him carriages, and every thing elſe he had an occaſion for in his journey. But the admiral choſe to return by

ſea,

ſea, and, on the 13th of *March*, ſet ſail from the *Tagus*. On the 15th, he arrived at *Palos* in *Andaluſia*, from whence he had ſet out on his enterprize on the 3d of *Auguſt*, the year before: ſo that he ſpent ſeven months and thirteen days upon the expedition.

THE admiral was informed, on his arrival at *Palos*, that their Catholic majeſties were at *Barcelona*, the capital of *Catalonia*: upon which, he ſeemed inclined to go to them by ſea in his caravel. However, he was prevailed on to land at *Palos*, where the inhabitants received him with a ſolemn proceſſion, and thankſgiving, for his return; all admiring ſo great an action, which they never imagined the admiral would have been able to perform.

THE admiral received information, that *Martin Alonſo Pinzon*, the captain of his other ſhip, was arrived in *Galicia*, and had given notice of his arrival to the court of *Spain*; propoſing to have brought the firſt intelligence of the important diſcovery, whereby a new world was to be made known, for the aggrandizement of the old; and particularly for the advantage of the *Spaniſh* nation: but their Catholic majeſties ſent him orders to attend on the admiral; which gave *Pinzon* ſuch mortification, that he retired in diſcontent to *Palos*, where he ſoon afterwards died with grief and vexation.

THE admiral, having altered his former reſolution of going by ſea to *Barcelona*, ſent advice of his arrival to their Catholic majeſties, with a ſummary account of what had happened to him, during his voyage; reſerving a more ample relation to be given in perſon. Their majeſties returned him a gracious anſwer, purporting, that they rejoiced at his

his ſafe return, and the ſucceſs of his enterprize; ordering him to be expeditious in coming to *Barcelona*, that a conference might be held concerning this great diſcovery, and to conſult of the moſt convenient means for advancing what had been ſo happily begun. The ſuperſcription of the letter was, "to Don *Chriſtopher Columbus*, "our admiral of the ocean, vice-roy and gover- "nor of the iſlands, that have been diſcovered "in the *Indies*:" for it was then imagined that *America* lay contiguous to the *Eaſt Indies*. Their Catholic majeſties alſo ordered *Columbus* to conſider, whether it was proper to leave any orders at *Seville*, before he came to *Barcelona*: and, in his anſwer, he ſent a memorial of the ſhips, men, ammunition, and proviſions that were proper to return to the *Indies*: after which, he ſet out for *Barcelona*, with ſeven *Indians*; carrying with him ſome party-coloured parrots, and other things, which had never before been ſeen in *Europe*.

THE joy of their Catholic majeſties was inexpreſſible, the ſatisfaction of the whole court was unparalleled, and the admiration of the people was great, to ſee ſo important a diſcovery thus happily effected, when the generality of men entertained no manner of hopes about the expedition. As the admiral drew near the city of *Barcelona*, the whole court went out to meet him, the city was crouded with ſpectators, their majeſties ordered their throne to be placed in public, and received the admiral with all the honours due to a ſovereign prince. He was attended by a multitude of gentlemen; and, as he approached the throne, the king ſtood up, gave him his hand to kiſs, bade him riſe, ordered a chair to be brought, and de-

ſired

fired him to ſit down in the royal preſence, where he gave him a particular account of his voyage and diſcovery; as alſo, of the hopes he conceived of finding greater countries: nor, was it eaſy to determine, whether their majeſties had more ſatisfaction in hearing of theſe diſcoveries, or the admiral in relating them.

As the articles concluded with the admiral, were only in the form of a contract, which he had performed, their majeſties ratified the agreement concluded at *Santa-Fe*; and, by their charters, appointed *Columbus*, admiral, vice-roy, and governor-general of all the iſlands, and continent to the weſtward of the *Azores*, and the *Cape Verd* iſlands, which he already had diſcovered, or ſhould diſcover and conquer, with power of appointing all officers, both civil and military. Their majeſties alſo gave him the royal arms of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, to bear together with thoſe of his family, with other additions, expreſſing his difficult and wonderful diſcovery. The king always had the admiral by his ſide, as he went along the city of *Barcelona*, and the grandees contended who ſhould give him the moſt honourable reception at their tables; all which was due to the merit of this illuſtrious man, by whoſe enterprizing genius the *Spaniſh* monarchy became the moſt formidable of any in *Europe*, till their opulence in *America* damped all the ſpirit of induſtry among the *Spaniards*; which gave an opportunity to other nations, to ſtrike out a grand and new tract of commerce, whereby they enriched themſelves at the expence of *Spain*, whom they drained of her treaſures, in the purchaſe of their commodities.

THEIR Catholic majeſties acquainted pope *Alexander* VIth, with the particulars of this diſcovery of a new world; informing him, that it had been made without encroaching on the crown of *Portugal*; and deſiring his holineſs to grant to the kings of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, the lands already diſcovered, or that ſhould be diſcovered, and to expedite his bulls accordingly. The pope readily granted this requeſt, and gave their Catholic majeſties the ſovereign dominion of the *Indies*, with ſupreme juriſdiction over all that hemiſphere; for which purpoſe, a bull was paſſed, with the conſent and approbation of the college of cardinals, on the 2d of *May* 1493, containing the ſame formalities, prerogatives, and powers, which had been before granted to the kings of *Portugal*, in relation to *Africa*, and the *Eaſt-Indies*. Beſides, by another bull of the 3d of *May*, the pope granted their Catholic majeſties all the iſlands and continents abroad, diſcovered, or that ſhould be diſcovered, drawing a line from pole to pole, at the diſtance of a hundred leagues to the weſtward of the *Azores*, and the *Cape Verd* iſlands; and that all which ſhould be diſcovered beyond that line to the weſt, or ſouth, ſhould appertain to the navigation and diſcovery of the kings of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, if they were not in the poſſeſſion of any chriſtian prince before *Chriſtmas-day*; and that no perſon ſhould paſs into thoſe parts, under penalties and cenſures.

IN the mean time, the neceſſary preparations were made for ſending the admiral out on another voyage. The *Indians* he had brought with him were baptized; the king, and his ſon prince *John*, being godfathers; after which, the admiral was

ordered

ordered to expedite his departure, and to endeavour, as ſoon as poſſible, to diſcover whether *Cuba*, which he had called *Juana*, was a continent or an iſland. *Columbus* took leave of their majeſties, and the whole court attended him out of the gates of *Barcelona*. When he came to *Seville*, he found that ſeventeen ſail of ſhips were fitted out, well furniſhed for the voyage, with great ſtores of proviſion, ammunition, artillery, corn, ſeeds, horſes, and mares; with tools to work the gold mines, and great quantities of merchandize to barter, as alſo for the admiral to give to whom he thought proper. The news of this diſcovery, and of the gold which was to be found, incited one thouſand five hundred men to undertake this ſecond expedition with the admiral; ſeveral of whom were gentlemen, many were handicrafts of different trades, and a great number were labouring people to dig and cleanſe the gold.

THEIR majeſties, by a new commiſſion, appointed the admiral commander in chief of the fleet, and captain-general in the *Indies*: *Anthony de Torres*, was to command the ſhips that ſhould return: *Francis de Penaloza*, and *Alonſo de Vallejo*, were made commanders of the land forces: *Bernal Diaz de Piſa*, was made accomptant of the *Indies*; and *James Marques* inſpector: with whom ſeveral prieſts were ſent for the converſion of the *Indians* to chriſtianity, who had particular orders to draw them over to religion, by making them preſents, and treating them with the utmoſt tenderneſs. Beſides, the whole body of theſe adventurers ſeverally took a ſolemn oath, to be obedient to their majeſties,

and to the admiral, in their names, as alſo to his juſtice, and to be careful of the royal revenue.

As it was apprehended that the king of *Portugal* had ſome intention of interrupting the admiral in his voyage, the fleet was put into a ſtronger condition of defence by an additional ſupply of arms. The king ſtill promiſed the admiral great rewards; directing him, before his departure, to cauſe a ſea-chart to be drawn, with the rhumbs, and other particulars, requiſite for the voyage to the *Indies*, which he deſired might be undertaken immediately, as every thing was ready, and as the further diſcovery daily appeared to be of greater conſequence than was at firſt imagined. This fleet was aſſembled at *Cadiz*, where the admiral was received on board with all the demonſtrations of joy, that a people, full of the moſt ſanguine expectations, could expreſs at the appearance of a man, whoſe expedition was to be the foundation of an inexhauſtible fund of wealth to the *Spaniſh* nation in general, and more particularly to the citizens of *Cadiz*.

THE admiral had ſeveral trees and plants carried on board; as alſo, wheat, barley, oats, rye, and all kinds of ſeeds, ſome cows, lime, bricks, and all ſorts of materials for building and planting. The men being all embarked, the whole fleet ſet ſail from the bay of *Cadiz*, on the 25th of *September*, 1493, with orders to ſteer ſouth-weſt for the *Canaries*, where they arrived on the 2d of *October*, and on the 5th anchored at *Gomera*. The fleet continued two days at this iſland, taking in wood and water; as alſo calves, goats, ſheep, and ſwine; from which, thoſe that were afterwards found in ſeveral parts of *America*, had their origin.

Each

Each pilot had ſealed inſtructions given him how to ſteer his courſe to the dominions of king *Guacanagari*; which they were not to open, unleſs they were ſeparated from the admiral by ſtreſs of weather; becauſe he would not have them know that courſe without ſuch neceſſity, for fear it ſhould be communicated to the king of *Portugal*, who was deſirous of making ſome acquiſition in the new diſcovered regions, which he afterwards obtained in an accidental manner.

His *Portugueze* majeſty was ſo much concerned that he had rejected the propoſals of *Columbus*, and thereby deprived himſelf of the benefit of a new empire, that he was unable to conceal his inquietude: therefore, he pretended, that the ſame belonged to him, and ordered a fleet to be fitted out, to take poſſeſſion of thoſe new countries, before *Columbus* undertook his ſecond voyage. In the mean time, he ſent an ambaſſador to their Catholic majeſties, to inform them, "How well he had treated the "admiral at *Liſbon*, and how much he was re- "joiced at the ſucceſs of his expedition: as alſo, "that ſince countries were diſcovered which be- "longed to him, he confided, that they would "deal as honourably and amicably towards him, "as he would towards them upon the ſame occa- "ſion: therefore, as he underſtood they intended "to continue the diſcovery, from the *Canaries* di- "rectly weſt, without turning to the ſouthward, "he requeſted them to command the admiral to "obſerve that order; and he would direct his "ſhips, when they went upon any diſcovery, to "incline as little as poſſible to the northward."

Their Catholic majeſties alſo ſent an ambaſſador to

Liſbon, to deſire that the king of *Portugal* would reſtrain his ſubjects from going, or ſending, to the new diſcovered countries, becauſe they belonged to the crown of *Spain*. But his *Portugueze* majeſty endeavoured to deceive the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador, by pretending that the fleet intended to follow *Columbus*, was deſtined for an expedition againſt the *Moors* in *Africa*: he alſo preferred a complaint at the court of *Rome*, againſt their Catholic majeſties, alledging, that they had prevented the progreſs of his diſcoveries; and excepted againſt the bulls granted there by his holineſs; aſſerting, that they broke in upon his limits, and that it was requiſite to ſet boundaries to prevent the troubles which might otherwiſe happen between the ſubjects of the two crowns. The pope, for the prevention of any occaſion of complaints, marked out what belonged to each of them, ordering the line to be drawn from pole to pole; and again, granted to the kings of *Caſtile*, all that ſhould be conquered in the iſlands to the eaſt, weſt, and ſouth, not in the poſſeſſion of any other prince; for which purpoſe, another bull was paſſed on the 26th of *September*.

HOWEVER, the king of *Portugal* was ſtill diſſatisfied, pretending that he was injured, becauſe the line of partition ought to be drawn farther on to the weſtward. He then propoſed a method to divide the ocean between the two crowns, by a line drawn directly from the *Canary* iſlands to the weſtward; that all the ſeas, iſlands, and countries from that ſtrait line to the northward, ſhould belong to their Catholic majeſties, except the iſlands then in the poſſeſſion of the king of *Portugal*: and that all the ſeas, iſlands,

iſlands, and continents, from that land to the ſouth-war, dſhould belong to *Portugal*, except the *Canary* iſlands, which belonged to the crown of *Caſtile*. To which their Catholic majeſties anſwered, that what they propoſed was of little ſignification; becauſe nothing belonged to the king of *Portugal*, but what they had mentioned. However, commiſſioners were appointed to adjuſt this difference, either by ſetting boundaries north and ſouth, or from eaſt to weſt, or ſuch other limits as they ſhould think proper, either by ſea or land: who, on the 7th of *June* 1493, came to an agreement, "That "the line for ſettling the boundaries ſhould be "drawn two hundred and ſeventy leagues farther "than that mentioned in the papal bull, from the "*Cape Verd* iſlands weſtward. That all beyond "that meridian weſtward, ſhould belong to the "kings of *Caſtile*; and all to the eaſtward ſhould "appertain to the navigations, conqueſts, and "diſcovery of the kings of *Portugal*; but that "their Catholic majeſties might freely ſail through "the ſeas belonging to his *Portugueze* majeſty, on "condition of holding a direct courſe." This agreement was ratified by their Catholic and *Portugueze* majeſties; but it was never carried into execution, by making the partition; nor was it of any conſequence, as other nations would not acquieſce in ſuch an excluſion to all other ſtates, and ſoon convinced both the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze*, that they had an equal right to make diſcoveries, and eſtabliſh ſettlements in both the *Indies*.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The ſecond voyage of Chriſtopher Columbus *to the* Weſt-Indies: *with his diſcovery of* Dominica, *and ſome other of the* Caribbee-Iſlands; *as alſo of the* Virgin-Iſlands, *and* Porto Rico. *His return to* Hiſpaniola; *and the tranſactions there. His diſcovery of* Jamaica; *and his return to* Spain, *to anſwer ſome complaints exhibited againſt him to their Catholic majeſties: with the reception which they gave him, and the account which he gave them of the natives of* Hiſpaniola. *How he vindicated himſelf; and undertook a third voyage to diſcover the continent of* America: *his diſcoveries there, and return to* Hiſpaniola.—*A ſhort account of the voyage, undertaken by* Alonſo de Ojeda, *and* Americus Veſputius; *as alſo by* Peter Alonſo Nino, Vincent Yanez Pinzon, *and* James de Lepe, *for the farther diſcovery of the continent of* America.—*In what manner* Columbus *was recalled from his government of* Hiſpaniola, *and ſent a priſoner to* Spain. *How he was employed on a fourth expedition: with his farther diſcoveries on the continent; and what diſtreſſes he met with at* Jamaica. *His arrival at* Hiſpaniola; *and in what condition he found the iſland. His return to* Spain; *where the neglect ſhewn him at court, occaſioned his death at* Valladolid. *His character, and epitaph.*

WHILE the courts of *Spain* and *Portugal* were contending about theſe limits, the admiral, *Columbus*, was proceeding on his ſecond voyage to the new diſcovered countries. He departed from

from the *Canaries*, on the 7th of *October*, 1493; and, after ſailing between 750 and 800 leagues, according to their reckoning, diſcovered land on the 3d of *November*, which proved to be one of the *Caribbee-Iſlands*. The admiral called this iſland *Dominica*, as it was diſcovered on *Sunday*, which in the *Spaniſh* language is called *Domingo*. Soon after, they ſaw ſeveral other iſlands; and, as there was no convenient harbour in *Dominica*, the admiral ſailed to another iſland, which he called *Marigalante*, after the name of his ſhip. He landed, and formally took poſſeſſion of this iſland for their Catholic majeſties; and then ſtruck over to another, to which he gave the name of *St. Mary of Guadalupe*, at the requeſt of ſome prieſts who belonged to a monaſtery of that name in *Spain*.

THE admiral ſent his boats aſhore on the iſland of *Guadalupe*; but, though there were ſeveral houſes, the inhabitants fled to the mountains: however, the *Spaniards* took two *Indian* youths, and ſix women, who made them underſtand, by ſigns, that there was a continent thereabouts, and many iſlands which they diſtinguiſhed by their particular names; and, being aſked for *Hiſpaniola*, which in their language was called *Ayti*, they pointed towards that part where it lay. They alſo ſignified, that they belonged to the iſland of *Boriquen*, which was afterwards called *Porto Rico*; and intimated to the *Spaniards*, that the natives of *Guadalupe* were *Caribbees*, or *Canibals*. The admiral alſo went aſhore, where he ſaw many hawks, haggards, kites, herons, daws, pigeons, turtles, geeſe, nightingales, and partridges: he alſo found great quantities of cotton in ſome of the houſes,

with

with looms, in which the natives wove it; and ſeveral human heads, with báſkets full of human bones, were hung up about theſe houſes, which were better furniſhed with proviſions, than thoſe he had diſcovered in the firſt voyage. But there is little probability that the natives of theſe iſlands were *Canibals*, or fond of devouring human fleſh; notwithſtanding that, from this opinion, theſe iſlands were afterwards called the *Caribbees*: they might, indeed, ſacrifice ſome of their priſoners to their idols; which cuſtom is not only ſtill continued among the independant *Indian* nations of *America*, but is alſo practiſed in ſeveral kingdoms of *Africa*, as it formerly was by many *European* nations, and particularly by the ancient *Saxons*, as well as the primitive *Britons*.

ON the 10th of *November*, as the admiral was coaſting along the iſland of *Guadalupe*, towards the north-weſt, in ſearch of *Hiſpaniola*, he diſcovered a very high iſland, which he called *Montſerat*; becauſe it appeared like the mountain of *Montſerat* in *Catalonia*, in *Spain*. He next came to a very round iſland, that looked to be inacceſſible; for which reaſon he called it *Santa Maria la Redonda*, or *St. Mary the Round*. He named another iſland *Santa Maria la Antigua*: ſeveral others appeared to the northward, and he anchored in one which he called *St. Martin*. He afterwards diſcovered a great number of iſlands, lying contiguous together; the greateſt of which he called *St. Urſula*; and the others, the *Eleven Thouſand Virgins*. He then arrived at the iſland of *Borriquen*, to which he gave the name of *St. John Baptiſt*, and anchored in a bay, on the weſt ſide of it, where he met with ſe-

veral

veral houſes pleaſantly ſituated, built with timber and thatched, with a ſquare in the middle of them, and the walls of canes interwoven with greens artificially wrought; but the inhabitants were fled up the country. On the 22d of *November*, the admiral arrived at *Hiſpaniola*, and landed one of the *Indians* he had brought back from *Spain*, that he might inform his countrymen what great things he had ſeen among the *Spaniards*, and induce them to be their friends: on the 27th, the fleet came to an anchor at the mouth of the port of *Navidad*, or the *Nativity*; when ſome *Indians* came on board the admiral, and acquainted him that the *Spaniards* he had left behind him in the fort were all dead, which gave him great uneaſineſs.

THE admiral ſaw the fort in ruins, and the *Indians* at firſt ſecreted themſelves: but the brother of king *Guacanagari*, and ſome *Indians*, who had learnt a little *Spaniſh*, came to the admiral, and informed him, that the *Spaniards* he had left behind him, ſoon diſagreed among themſelves, and diſobeyed their commander; going about in an inſolent manner to take what women and gold they pleaſed from the *Indians*: that eleven of them went into that part of the country which was governed by the cazique *Caunabo*, who was lord of the mines, and put all thoſe *Spaniards* to death; after which, he went and demoliſhed the fort, where he drove ſix *Spaniards* into the ſea, who were drowned, and the reſt were diſperſed over the country: as alſo that *Guacanagari* come to the aſſiſtance of the *Spaniards*, and received ſome wounds, from which he was not recovered.

THE admiral went to the town where *Guacanagari*

gari reſided, who convinced him that he had aſſiſted the *Spaniards*, by ſhewing him his wounds, which were made by *Indian* weapons; and he corroborated what his brother had told the admiral, to whom he preſented eight hundred ſmall beads made of ſtone, one hundred of gold, a crown of the ſame metal, and a large quantity of gold duſt: for which the admiral made a return to the king, by giving him ſome glaſs trinkets, knives, ſciſſars, hawks-bells, pins, needles, and little looking-glaſſes.

THE admiral obſerved, that this part of the country was very low land, and had no ſtone, or other materials for building, though it had good harbours, and freſh water: he therefore reſolved to turn back along the coaſt to the eaſtward, to find out a more convenient place for erecting a town, and eſtabliſhing a ſettlement. Adjacent to a mountain, which he had named *Monte Chriſto*, he found a commodious harbour near the mouth of a river; and, perceiving there was a rock which would form a good natural fortification, he diſembarked his men, and laid out the plan of a town, for which there were ſuch proper neceſſaries of lime and ſtone, that it was ſoon built; being called *Iſabella*, in honour of the queen of *Spain*.

THE admiral, being deſirous of diſcovering the gold mines, ſent fifteen men, under the command of *Alonſo de Ojeda*, to examine the country; who travelled as far as the mines of *Cibao*, about fifty miles diſtant from the new town of *Iſabella*; and returned with ſuch ſpecimens as he thought ſufficient to prove the great plenty of that metal; which gave great ſatisfaction to the admiral and his people. In the mean time, the admiral ſent twelve of the

ſhips

ſhips back again to *Spain*, under the command of *Anthony de Torres*, with all the gold he was able to get for their Catholic majeſties; reſerving for himſelf, in the *Indies*, two large ſhips and three caravels.

THE adventurers flattered themſelves, that they ſhould immediately come into the poſſeſſion of mountains of gold: but, as they found it would be attended with much labour and difficulty, ſome of them repented of undertaking the voyage, and entered into a conſpiracy againſt the admiral, to ſeize the remaining five ſhips, and return to *Spain*. *Bernal Diaz de Piſa*, accomptant of the *Indies*, was the chief of theſe conſpirators: but the admiral diſcovered the plot, ordered *Piſa* to be ſent home on board one of the ſhips, and puniſhed the reſt of the mutineers: after which, he ordered the great guns, ammunition, and naval ſtores belonging to the four ſhips, to be all brought on board his own ſhip, and placed under the guard of ſuch perſons in whom he could moſt confide.

THE admiral then ſet out for the country of *Cibao*, with a ſtrong party of men; leaving his brother *James Columbus*, to command in his abſence at *Iſabella*. The admiral marched his men through ſeveral towns in military order; which ſtruck a great impreſſion upon the *Indians*, who were aſtoniſhed to ſee the horſes and mules. The *Spaniards* entered the country of *Cibao*, which they found full of high mountains, with a great number of rivers and brooks, where they got conſiderable quantities of gold, but chiefly in ſmall grains. The *Indians* came out to receive the admiral; bringing him proviſions, and gold duſt, when

when they ſaw it was ſo acceptable among the *Spaniards*; who alſo diſcovered ſeveral mines of gold, one of fine blue, and another of amber. But, as the country was bad for travelling, the admiral erected a fort, which he called *St. Thomas*, on an eminence, almoſt ſurrounded by the river *Xanique*; where he left a garriſon of fifty-ſix men, under the command of *Pedro Margarite*, for the reduction of the province; and returned to *Iſabella* on the 29th of *March*. The admiral found many of his men dead at *Iſabella*, and the reſt in a very declining condition; occaſioned by the heat, and dampneſs of the country, which was rendered more intolerable by a ſcarcity of proviſions. This calamity was increaſed by advice from *St. Thomas* that the *Indians* had abandoned their towns; and that the cazique *Caunabo* was making preparations to attack the fort: upon which the admiral immediately ſent ſixty of the moſt healthy men, to reinforce the garriſon, who were ſoon followed by all the others, except the mechanics, commanded by *Alonſo de Ojeda*; the whole amounting to four hundred men. *Ojeda* took ſome *Indians* priſoners; and the reſt were ſo much afraid of the *Spaniards*, that one horſeman drove above four hundred *Indians* before him; though they would venture to engage any *Spaniard* on foot.

ON the ſuppreſſion of the troubles which were apprehended in *Hiſpaniola*, the admiral was determined to go upon new diſcoveries. After appointing a council of his principal officers, in which his brother *James* was preſident; and having given proper directions for the ſecurity of the iſland, he ſailed to the weſtward, on the 24th of *April*, with

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one ſhip, and two caravels; for the more particular diſcovery of *Cuba*; becauſe it was not yet certainly known, whether it was an iſland, or a part of ſome continent. He diſcovered ſeveral excellent harbours, and many rivers, on the coaſt of *Cuba*; from the ſouth ſide of which he obſerved the iſland of *Jamaica*, and arrived there on the 14th of *May*; when a great multitude of *Indians* reſorted to the ſhips, in their canoes: but, when the admiral ſent out his boats to ſound, and find out ſome harbour, many armed canoes came out to prevent the *Spaniards* from landing: upon which the admiral returned to *Cuba*, where he met with ſuch bad weather, and ſo many ſhoals, that he was obliged to quit his diſcovery, and return to *Hiſpaniola*, where he arrived on the 29th of *September*; after having ſailed above three hundred leagues, and being in great want of proviſions; though well aſſured that *Cuba* was a large iſland.

On his return to *Hiſpaniola*, the admiral received the agreeable intelligence, that his brother, *Bartholomew Columbus*, was arrived there; who informed him of his tranſactions in *England*, and that their Catholic majeſties had ſent him over with three ſhips, laden with proviſions. The admiral gave his brother *Bartholomew* the title of adelantado, or lord lieutenant; which their Catholic majeſties very much reſented, ſaying, that it belonged only to them to confer that title; though ſome years after they confirmed what the admiral had done.

However, the joy which the admiral received on the arrival of his brother, was greatly interrupted, by finding the iſland in a general confuſion: for Don *Pedro Margarite*, had permitted the

the ſoldiers to live without any order or diſcipline among the *Indians*, whom they continually plundered; and, fearing to be puniſhed for diſobeying the orders of the council, he returned to *Spain*, with ſeveral of his party, in the three ſhips brought by *Bartholomew Columbus*. On the departure of that commander, the *Spaniſh* ſoldiers licentiouſly diſperſed themſelves about the country, where ſeveral of them were killed by the *Indians*; and ſuch an ill report was ſpread of their behaviour, that they were hated by *Guarinoex*, *Caunabo*, *Behechico*, and *Higuanama*, the four principal kings of the iſland, and their ſubjects, who were impatient to expel the *Spaniards* out of their country: though *Guacanagari* ſtill continued to treat them with great friendſhip and affection.

THE admiral aſſembled his ſcattered troops, with a reſolution of chaſtiſing the *Indians*; in which *Guacanagari* offered him his aſſiſtance. *Caunabo*, king of *Maguana*, was the moſt potent and valiant prince upon the iſland; which made the admiral principally aim at making him his priſoner: but, as this could not be readily effected by force, he thought of ſubduing him by policy. Accordingly, he ſent *Alonſo de Ojeda*, with only nine *Spaniards*, under the pretence of carrying a preſent to *Caunabo*. On the arrival of *Ojeda* in the province of *Maguana*, which was about 160 miles from *Iſabella*, the *Indians* were in a conſternation to ſee him on horſeback; believing that the man and horſe were only one animal. *Caunabo* was told that the *Spaniards* had brought him a preſent from the admiral; when *Ojeda* was introduced to him, kiſſed his hand, and ſhewed him the preſent; which were

fetters;

fetters, bright and well poliſhed, that looked like ſilver. *Ojeda* told *Caunabo*, that the kings of *Spain* wore ſuch ornaments, becauſe they came from heaven: that they put them on at feſtivals; and that *Caunabo* would look like the kings of *Spain* if he wore them in the ſame manner, and returned from bathing on horſeback. The *Indian* prince had no ſuſpicion that ſo ſmall a number of men ſhould have any deſign upon him, in a place where he was ſo formidable by the multitude of his ſubjects; and therefore went to bathe himſelf in a river, attended with *Ojeda*, and a few of his own ſervants. After refreſhing himſelf in the water, he ordered his attendants to keep at a diſtance; when the *Spaniards* ſet him on horſeback behind *Ojeda*, put on the fetters and hand-cuffs, and *Ojeda* rode off, with the *Spaniards* about the horſe, till they loſt ſight of the *Indians*. They then bound him with cords, and carried him to *Iſabella*, where they delivered him to the admiral, who embarked him, with ſeveral other *Indians*, for *Spain*; but they were ſhipwrecked, and all of them periſhed in the paſſage.

THE ſeizing of *Caunabo*, gave the admiral a proſpect of great inquietude; becauſe the brothers of that prince were highly irritated at ſuch an unexpected proceedure, and were determined to make war upon the *Spaniards*, with the utmoſt of their abilities. They aſſembled about one hundred thouſand men together: but the admiral took the field with two hundred foot, twenty horſe, and twenty wolf dogs; which came up with, and entirely routed the *Indians*; a great number of whom were ſlain, many taken priſoners, and ſome of them

ſent to *Spain*: for what were the unarmed, and undiſciplined multitude of naked *Indians*, to a well formed troop of *Spaniards*, armed with weapons unknown and horrible to this innocent people, who dreaded the ſight of a horſe, and were mangled to pieces by the dogs? The admiral continued ranging about the iſland nine or ten months, and ſeverely puniſhing thoſe who made any reſiſtance; though the reſiſtance was only the law of nature, exerted againſt the rapacity of foreign invaders. The brothers of *Caunabo* had ſeveral other encounters with the *Spaniards*: but, conſcious that their power was ineffectual, they at laſt ſubmitted to the admiral, who impoſed a tribute upon all the inhabitants of the iſland, and exacted obedience from them to their Catholic majeſties. The inhabitants of the province of *Cibao* were each of them to pay a ſmall hawks-bell full of gold every quarter of a year; and every other perſon was to pay a quarter of a hundred weight of cotton: but this tribute was too heavy to be paid; which made ſeveral *Indians* fly to the mountains, or eſcape into the other provinces; ſo that above one third of the natives periſhed with hunger, and fatigue.

THE return of *Anthony de Torres*, with the twelve ſhips, into *Spain*, gave infinite ſatisfaction to their Catholic majeſties, who ſent a letter to *Columbus*, again repeating their thanks for his good ſervices, promiſing to promote his intereſt to the utmoſt of their power; becauſe every thing he had advanced was now evidently demonſtrated: they alſo deſired he would give them an explicit account of all his later diſcoveries; and, that they might frequently hear from him, they acquainted him

that

that a ſhip ſhould be ſent from *Spain* every month, and one return from the *Indies*, as the affair with *Portugal* was adjuſted: but deſired he would be preſent at drawing the line of partition, or ſend his brother *Bartholomew* with draughts, and his opinion what ought to be done in ſo difficult a matter.

HOWEVER, Don *Pedro Margarite*, and ſome others who had deſerted the admiral, combined together in alledging many things prejudicial to his character, on their arrival in *Spain*; which occaſioned their Catholic majeſties to ſend *John Aguado*, one of the grooms of the bed-chamber, to *Hiſpaniola*, to give an account of the ſituation of affairs in the iſland. *Aguado* arrived at *Hiſpaniola*, in *October* 1495, while the admiral was carrying on the war againſt the brothers of *Caunabo*: but, having information that *Aguado* began to aſſume too much authority, he came to *Iſabella*; where he found that his people were in great diſtreſs for proviſions, and other neceſſaries; which occaſioned them, as well as the tributary *Indians*, to make their complaint to *Aguado*, who behaved with ſuch preſumption to the admiral, that he found it neceſſary to return to *Spain*, with a view of vindicating himſelf before their Catholic majeſties, and to give them his opinion about the partition that was to be made of the ocean between the two crowns of *Caſtile* and *Portugal*. The admiral erected the forts of *Magdalen*, *St. Catharine*, and *Eſperanza*, for the protection and ſecurity of the iſland: he then appointed his brother *Bartholomew Columbus* lieutenant-governor, and ſet ſail on the 10th of *March* 1496, in one of the caravals, being accompanied by *Aguado* in another, and both of them

carried over two hundred and twenty men, who were deſirous of returning to *Spain*. The contrary winds, and the currents, obliged the admiral to make for the eaſtward; ſo that it was the 10th of *April*, before he could arrive at the *Caribbee* iſlands, when he ſupplied himſelf with proviſions at *Guadalupe*. On the 20th of *April*, he continued his voyage: but, being then unacquainted with the nature of the trade-winds, which conſtantly ſit from the north-eaſt, or thereabouts, near the tropic of *Cancer*, he made it the 19th of *June*, before he came upon the coaſt of *Spain*, when he entered the bay of *Cadiz*; having ſpent three months in the voyage: though if he had run up at leaſt to thirty degrees of latitude, on his departure from *Hiſpaniola*, he would have met with the trade-winds, which might have carried him to *Spain*, in the ſame time as he ſpent in getting to the *Caribbees*.

THE admiral repaired immediately to the court, which was then at *Burgos*, the capital of old *Caſtile*; where he met with a gracious reception from their majeſties; though they ſignified to him, that he ought to have uſed leſs ſeverity. He acquainted them with the condition of the iſland; as alſo, with the diſcovery of *Cuba*, and the mines, preſenting them with ſome gold plate, and gold duſt, among which, there were ſome grains as big as peas, others like beans, and ſome like walnuts.

THE admiral, very ſatisfactorily, cleared up his character and conduct, againſt all the informations that had been made againſt him by his enemies. He then aſſured their majeſties, that he could diſcover another continent adjacent to his other diſ-

coveries,

coveries, and demanded ſix ſhips for the expedition: but he was two years before he could procure them; becauſe he had not brought a ſufficient quantity of gold to ſatisfy the great expectations of his employers. However, it was agreed, by the advice of the admiral, that three hundred and thirty men ſhould be always kept on the royal pay at *Hiſpaniola*. Their majeſties likewiſe granted to all thoſe who would voluntarily ſettle there, a third part of all the gold they ſhould get out of the mines; and that they ſhould pay only a tenth of all other things to the crown. The admiral alſo obtained permiſſion to tranſport all criminals into the *Indies*, to ſerve there for a certain number of years: but this was a very imprudent ſtep; becauſe infant colonies ſhould be ſupported by a better foundation than the refuſe of mankind. Their majeſties empowered the admiral to make a diviſion of the lands in *Hiſpaniola*, among the coloniſts; reſerving to themſelves all the gold, ſilver, and other metals. They alſo promiſed to ſupply the admiral with ſix millions of maravedies, or 2100*l.* ſterling, for the intended expedition to diſcover the continent, and victualling the fleet; but it was a long time before he received the money.

In the account which the admiral gave to their majeſties of the natives of *Hiſpaniola*, he informed them, that all their kings, or caziques, had a houſe at ſome diſtance from their towns, where there were ſome uncommon images made of ſtone, or wood, and ſometimes painted; which they called *Cemis*, and honoured them with the names of their anceſtors. The people paid great adoration to theſe images; praying to ſome for health, and to others for plenty, ſeaſonable weather, or proſperous enter-

prizes: yet, they conſidered them only as inferior deities, having much greater veneration for the ſun. Each cazique was a kind of chief prieſt, as well as ſovereign of his people, whom they kept in ſubjection by many religious impoſtures. Moſt of the caziques had alſo three ſtones, to which they paid much devotion; the one they held good for the growth of the land, another for the eaſy delivery of women with child, and the third for rain or ſun-ſhine, according as they had occaſion. When a cazique died, he was opened and dried by the fire, for the preſervation of his body; which was interred in a cave, together with his arms, and proviſion; the wife who bore him the greateſt affection, being alſo ſhut up with the corps till ſhe died. It was cuſtomary to ſtrangle all people at the point of death: but they only preſerved the heads of the common ſort. They were of opinion, that after death they went to a valley, which every great cazique believed was in his own dominions; where they imagined they ſhould find their parents and predeceſſors, be bleſt with the moſt beautiful wives, the moſt delicate food, and enjoy an eternal ſcene of uninterrupted pleaſures. They thought their idols were immortal, and that the dead appeared to the living; on which account every *Indian* was afraid to go any where alone at the approach of night. Their phyſicians pretended to effect cures by the aſſiſtance of demons. The men were addicted to ſodomy, which was abhorred by the women, who were continent with the natives, but lewd with the *Spaniards*. Mothers, ſiſters, and daughters were excepted: but the men had no regard to any other degrees of conſanguinity.

DURING

DURING the reſidence of the admiral in *Spain*, his brother *Bartholomew* had great troubles to encounter with in *Hiſpaniola*: but their Catholic majeſties confirmed the title of *Adelantado*, which had been conferred on him by his brother. The death of his *Portugueze* majeſty, and of the infant Don *John* of *Spain*, with ſome other accidents, deferred the departure of *Columbus*, on his third voyage, to diſcover new lands, till the 30th of *May*, 1498, when he ſet ſail from St. *Lucar*, the port town of *Seville*, with ſix ſhips; having been detained almoſt two years in *Spain*.

THE admiral received intelligence that a *Portugueze* fleet lay in wait for him at *Cape St. Vincent*; upon which, he ſailed directly to the *Madeiras*, and afterwards to the *Canaries*; from whence he ſent three of his ſhips laden with proviſions to *Hiſpaniola*, and then proceeded himſelf towards the *Cape Verd* iſlands. He intended, in the name of the moſt Holy Trinity, as he was always uſed to ſay, to ſail to the ſouthward, till he came under the line; and to proceed to the weſtward, till *Hiſpaniola* bore north-weſt from him; for he wanted to ſee what iſlands or continent were in that part; it being his own opinion no man had ever ſailed that courſe, and that the ſea there was entirely unknown: in which conjecture he was very right; and by the ſame courſe *Brazil* was afterwards accidentally diſcovered by the *Portugueze*. King *John* of *Portugal* had affirmed, there was a continent to the ſouthward; and *Columbus* was determined to try whether he was right or wrong in ſuch an aſſertion: beſides, by holding ſuch a courſe, the admiral deſigned to find out the truth of what the *Indians* of

Hiſpaniola reported; which was, that a black people, from the ſouth and ſouth-weſt, had come to that iſland, who had the heads of their javelins made of a ſort of metal called guanin, ſome of which he had ſent to *Spain*, where it appeared on the aſſay to be of 32 parts, 18 of gold, 6 of braſs, and 8 of copper.

THE admiral continued his courſe ſouth-weſt, till he found ſome of the ſame kind of weeds he had met with in the direct way to *Hiſpaniola*, and ſailed within five degrees of the line; where, on the 13th of *July*, the heat of the weather was ſo violent, that he was afraid the ſhips would take fire, and the men periſh: but, on the 19th, they met with a fair gale, and ſailed ſeventeen days to the weſtward, deſigning to turn again to the ſouth, ſo that *Hiſpaniola* might bear north, where the admiral believed he ſhould find land, either before or after he came to that point. On the 31ſt of *July*, he diſcovered land to the ſouth-eaſt; and it proved to be an iſland, which the admiral called *la Trinidad*, or the *Trinity*; having promiſed to give that name to the firſt land he ſhould diſcover. This iſland lies near the mouth of the great river *Oronoque*, in ſouth *America*; and the inhabitants gave the admiral a friendly reception; who, from thence, diſcovered more land, which he took for an iſland, and called it *Iſla Santa*, or *Holy Iſland*: but, it proved to be that part of the continent called *Paria*, or *Guiana*. On the 5th of *Auguſt*, he diſcovered ſeveral good harbours, great tracts of cultivated land, and many rivers; which invited him on ſhore, where he found well taſted grapes, mirabolans, apples, and a ſort of fruit that looked like oranges,

oranges, but had figs within. The *Indians* came down in great numbers, and bartered ſeveral things for *Spaniſh* toys: they had ſome little plates of gold about their necks, which they ſaid was very plentiful in thoſe parts, and ſhewed how they gathered it: they wore collars and beads of ſeveral ſorts, having their hair cut ſhort, with little caps and aprons made of cotton, for covering their heads and their privities. The admiral obſerved, that theſe *Indians* were a polite and warlike people: he diſcovered, and gave names to ſeveral capes and harbours, as alſo to four iſlands; and he was now well aſſured, that this land was the continent: but, as his men grew uneaſy, and as they wanted proviſions, he deſiſted from making any farther diſcovery at preſent; and, on the 15th of *Auguſt*, ſteered his courſe for *Hiſpaniola*, where he arrived on the 22d at the town of *St. Domingo*, which his brother *Bartholomew* had built on the ſouth-ſide of the iſland; giving it this name in memory of their father *Dominic*.

THE adelantado, in the abſence of his brother the admiral, had contracted a friendſhip with *Bohechio*, king of the province of *Xaragua*, and prevailed upon him to pay a tribute to their Catholic majeſties. But *Guarinoex*, king of the *Indians* about *Cibao*, took up arms againſt the *Spaniards*, and aſſembled fifteen thouſand men together, who were defeated by the adelantado; when *Guarinoex*, and ſome of his caziques, were taken priſoners; though they were ſoon afterwards ſet at liberty. This revolt of the *Indians* was followed by an inſurrection among the *Spaniards*, headed by *Francis Roldan*, the chief alcalde, or chief juſtice; who intimated

intimated to ſeveral ſeamen and labourers, that the adelantado, and his brother *James*, intended to pay no obedience to their Catholic majeſties; but to keep the iſland to themſelves, and make all the people ſlaves to employ them in building their forts and houſes, and in collecting their tributes. The mutineers broke open the royal magazine at *Iſabella*, from whence *Roldan* took all the arms and ammunition he thought proper for his followers; as alſo ſeveral cows, mares, and colts, with which he went about the *Indian* towns, and perſuaded the *Indians* to diſcontinue the payment of their tribute. *Roldan* aſpired to the chief authority, imagining the admiral would not return again to *Hiſpaniola*, after the informations were laid againſt him by *Aguada*. He had ſeventy men well armed, which were afterwards increaſed by other revolters, who intended to beſiege the adelantado in the *Conception*. But, on the 3d of *February*, 1498, two ſhips arrived from *Spain*, laden with proviſions, and the adelantado ſecured them by repairing to *St. Domingo*; where he was followed by *Roldan*, who alſo intended to get the proviſions into his poſſeſſion. Theſe diſturbances among the *Spaniards*, occaſioned *Guarinoex* to quit his country, and retire into the territory of *Mayobanex*, king of the *Ciguayos*, who inhabited the mountains, wore their hair down to the waiſt, and looked upon themſelves as the braveſt people upon the iſland. The adelantado marched againſt theſe *Indians*, and ſent a meſſenger to *Mayobanex*, deſiring him to deliver up *Guarinoex*, becauſe he had abſconded, and refuſed to pay his tribute: but, the *Indian* anſwered, that he deſpiſed the friendſhip of

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the *Spaniards*, and would protect *Guarinoex*. The adelantado then plundered the country; and *Mayobanex* assembled a numerous body of *Indians* to oppose the *Spaniards*: but they were so much terrified at the *Spanish* arms, that they deserted their prince, who, with a few faithful attendants, retreated to the mountains, where he was soon afterwards taken prisoner, together with his wife and children, *Guarinoex*, and some others, who were all conducted to the *Conception*.

In the mean time, the three ships which the admiral had sent before him to *Hispaniola*, arrived on the south-side of the island, where *Roldan* had posted himself with his mutineers, and persuaded some of the men belonging to these ships to join his people. But, when the admiral arrived, *Roldan* returned to his duty, on receiving a general pardon, and a confirmation of his office as chief judge of the island: after which, the admiral diligently applied himself to the discovery of the mines, and found such plenty of gold, that his family soon accumulated abundance of riches.

The commanders of the ships which the admiral had sent to *Spain*, delivered an account to their Catholic majesties of the discovery he had made of the continent; and of the pearls he had found, which had not been expected from those parts. Great rejoicings were made upon this information, which inclined several people to sollicit for the privilege of making farther discoveries; and particularly *Alonso de Ojeda*, who had four ships fitted out by the merchants of *Seville*, and set sail from port *St. Mary*, on the 20th of *May*, 1499, being accompanied by *Americus Vesputius*. After sailing

twenty-

twenty-ſeven days to the weſtward, they diſcovered the continent, and went on ſhore, where they traded with the *Indians* along the coaſt till they came to a town built in the water, containing twenty-ſix large houſes like bells, raiſed on pillars, with draw-bridges to go from one houſe to another. The *Indians* at firſt were in a great conſternation at the ſight of the ſhips, drew up their bridges, and retired into their houſes: but the *Spaniards* made ſigns of friendſhip, and they ſoon had courage enough to venture on board the ſhips, which proceeded down the coaſt of *Paria*, where the admiral *Columbus* had been before; though *Americus Veſputius*, by many artifices, aſſumed to himſelf the honour of having diſcovered the continent. They afterwards landed in ſome of the *Caribbee* iſlands, where they met with oppoſition, and killed ſeveral of the natives: after which, they went to *Hiſpaniola*, and carried with them two hundred and twenty two *Indian* ſlaves.

ALONSO de OJEDA, on his arrival at *Hiſpaniola*, refuſed to pay any ſubmiſſion to the admiral, and created an inſurrection more formidable than that which had been lately ſuppreſſed. However, this ſudden ſtorm ſoon ſubſided, and *Ojedo* returned to *Spain*: though, after his departure, *Hernando de Guevera*, kindled another commotion, which was ſoon ſuppreſſed by the bravery of the admiral, who ordered ſome of the mutineers to be executed.

THE inhabitants of *Seville* were informed, that *Ojeda* was directed in his voyage by the draught which the admiral had made of what he had diſcovered on the continent; and therefore ſeveral others followed his example, by undertaking new diſcoveries.

veries. *Peter Alonſo Nino*, who was with the admiral when *Paria* was diſcovered, obtained the royal licence to undertake a voyage, on condition that he ſhould not come to an anchor, nor land any where within fifty leagues of what the admiral had diſcovered. *Lewis Guerra* of *Seville*, defrayed the expence of the expedition, and appointed his brother *Chriſtopher* captain of the ſhip, who ſet ſail ſoon after *Alonſo de Ojeda*, and alſo traded along the coaſt of *Paria*, where he was well entertained by the natives; and, having 1200 ounces of beautiful pearls given him in exchange for a few toys, he returned to *Spain*, on the 6th of *February* 1500.

VINCENT YANEZ PINSON, who accompanied the admiral in the firſt diſcovery, equipped four ſhips at his own expence, and ſet ſail from *Palos* about the beginning of the year 1500; being the firſt *Spaniard* who croſſed the equinoctial line. On the 26th of *February*, he diſcovered land, went on ſhore, and took poſſeſſion of the country, which was a part of *Brazil*: but he met with great oppoſition from the natives, who killed and wounded ſeveral of the *Spaniards*. He afterwards ſailed along the coaſt of *Paria*, and then proceeded towards the *Caribbees*: but two of his ſhips were loſt in the paſſage with all the men, and the others arrived in *Spain* about the end of *September*; having diſcovered ſix hundred leagues along the coaſt of *Paria*.

JAMES de LEPE, in the beginning of the year 1500, ſet ſail from *Palos* with two ſhips upon a diſcovery, and purſued the ſame courſe as *Pinſon* had done: but met with more obſtructions from the *Indians*.

THOUGH

THOUGH *Columbus* had given *Spain* the honour of having diſcovered a new world; the *Spaniſh* court treated this great man with the greateſt ingratitude. The account which he had tranſmitted of the inſurrection of *Roldan*, was contradicted by complaints againſt the admiral; who, like all other eminent men, had too many enemies to depreciate his worth. They repreſented him to the king as ambitious and tyrannical, cruel and avaricious: that he exerciſed no proper form of government; uſing both *Indians* and *Spaniards* as ſlaves: as alſo that he had the poſſeſſion of immenſe treaſures, while he concealed the richeſt mines from the royal officers. Such unjuſt complaints, and malicious ſuggeſtions, deprived the admiral of that royal patronage and protection which he had ſo deſervedly obtained; ſo that his Catholic majeſty was determined to recal him from his government; though, perhaps, his greateſt inducement to ſo ungenerous an action, was the report of the immenſe opulence that the admiral had acquired, and which he imagined would flow into the royal treaſury upon his removal.

UPON theſe preſumptions, their Catholic majeſties came to the reſolution of removing the admiral from his government: though it was pretended, he requeſted that a judge might be ſent over to examine into the inſolencies committed by *Roldan* and *Ojeda*. However, it was acknowledged, the admiral alſo deſired that their majeſties would pay a proper regard to the ſervices he had performed; and that no incroachment ſhould be made upon his rights: which is a ſtrong proof that he was afraid of being neglected, and of meeting with injuſtice,

when

when he had merited all the favours that royal munificence could beſtow.

FRANCIS de BOVADILLA, commendary of the order of *Calatrava*, was appointed by their majeſties to go over to *Hiſpaniola*, with the title and commiſſion of examiner, as alſo of governor; giving him ſeveral blank warrants to fill up as he thought proper; as alſo an authority to apprehend the admiral, and ſend him to *Spain*, if the complaints alledged againſt him were put into proof. All the officers and commanders of the iſland were ordered to aſſiſt *Bovadilla*; and a letter was alſo ſent to the admiral, commanding him to obey the new governor.

On the 23d of *Auguſt*, 1500, *Francis de Bovadilla* arrived at *Hiſpaniola*; at which time, the admiral, and his brother the adelantado, were puniſhing ſome of the mutineers, and ſettling the tranquility of the iſland, ſo that the *Indians* might ſoon be brought to pay their tributes. *Bovadilla* immediately exerted all the force of his commiſſion; demanded all the royal ſtores, arms, and proviſions to be delivered up to him; took poſſeſſion of the fort, and ſeized upon every thing belonging to the admiral; who could not imagine that their majeſties would have ſuffered him to be treated with ſuch injuſtice and indignity. *Bovadilla* ſoon ingratiated himſelf into the affections of many diſcontented people, whom he countenanced in their complaints againſt the admiral. The accuſers alledged, that the admiral treated the *Spaniards* with great ſeverity, by compelling them to work, when they were afflicted with illneſs, and periſhing with hunger: that he had refuſed to allow them proviſions, and would not permit the *Indians*

to

to be baptized, while he made war on them unjuſtly, and took many ſlaves, to ſend into *Spain*: and that he would not grant any permiſſion for digging of gold, becauſe he was willing to conceal the wealth of the *Indies*, with a view of retaining the poſſeſſion of them by the aſſiſtance of ſome other monarch. All theſe allegations were falſe; yet *Bovadilla* ſeized the admiral, and both his brothers; without ſo much as ſeeing or ſpeaking to them. They were all put into irons, and no perſon permitted to converſe with them: which was ſo inhuman an action, conſidering the dignity of the perſon, and the ineſtimable ſervice he had done the crown of *Spain*, that the admiral afterwards kept his fetters, and ordered they ſhould be buried with him, in teſtimony of the ingratitude he had received. In this condition, the admiral and his brothers were ſent priſoners into *Spain*, under the guard of *Alonſo de Vallejo*, who was ordered to deliver the priſoners, as ſoon as he arrived at *Cadiz*, to *John Rodrigues de Fonſeca*, a *Spaniſh* biſhop; and it was univerſally believed, that *Bovadilla* put this affront upon the admiral only to win the favour of that prelate. The priſoners were carried from *Hiſpaniola*, about the beginning of *October*, when *Vallejo* offered to ſtrike off their fetters; which the admiral would not ſuffer, till it was done by the order of their majeſties.

THE ſhip arrived at *Cadiz* on the 25th of *November*; at which time their majeſties were at *Granada*: but, being informed how the admiral was treated, they ordered him to be releaſed, and to have a thouſand ducats to carry him to court, where he met with a very favourable reception; their majeſties

jeſties aſſuring him, it had never been their deſign that he ſhould be any way moleſted, and promiſing to redreſs all his grievances; but particularly the queen, who had always been more favourable to him than the king. The admiral was upon his knees a conſiderable time before their majeſties; being unable to utter a word; through the greatneſs of his concern. They ordered him to riſe, when he made a pathetic ſpeech, proteſting that it had always been his intention to ſerve their majeſties with the utmoſt fidelity; and that, if he had been guilty of any miſtakes, they proceeded from his want of knowledge in the art of government, not from a want of zeal to their majeſties, or any diſaffection to their ſubjects, notwithſtanding they had treated him with the utmoſt diſreſpect and inſolence.

THE admiral exhibited ſeveral complaints againſt *Bovadilla*, upon which their majeſties reſolved to ſend another governor to *Hiſpaniola*; and appointed *Nicholas de Obando*, knight of the order of *Alcantara*, to hold the government for two years. Among his inſtructions, he was ordered to bring *Bovadilla* to a trial; and to examine into the inſurrection of *Roldan*. He was alſo particularly charged by the queen, that all the *Indians* of *Hiſpaniola*, ſhould be free from ſervitude, be protected like the *Spaniards*, and be carefully inſtructed in the chriſtian faith. All that the admiral and his brothers had been diſpoſſeſſed of by *Bovadilla*, was ordered to be reſtored by *Obando*; but no *Jews*, *Moors*, or new converts, were to be tolerated in the *Indies*.

THE fleet appointed to carry over *Nicholas de*

Obando, conſiſted of thirty two ſail, commanded by *Anthony de Torres*; having on board two thouſand five hundred men, with ten *Franciſcan* friars. They ſet ſail from *St. Lucar*, on the 13th of *February*, 1502; and, after meeting with a terrible tempeſt, the new governor arrived at *Hiſpaniola* on the 15th of *April*, where he immediately put his orders into execution, by ſending *Bovadilla* on board the fleet, together with *Roldan*, and all the men who had been concerned in his inſurrection; as alſo the cazique *Guarinoex*, and two hundred thouſand caſtillans, or two thouſand pounds weight of gold: but all of them were loſt in their paſſage.

THE report was daily increaſing among the *Spaniards*, that pearls and gold were brought from the new diſcovered continent, in exchange for hawks-bells, and other things of inconſiderable value: which excited ſeveral enterprizing perſons to continue the diſcovery. *Roderic de Baſtidas* obtained a licence for fitting out two ſhips in *January* 1501, and ſailed to the continent, where he touched at ſeveral places to trade with the *Indians*, who came down in great multitudes to barter with the *Spaniards*; particularly along that part of the coaſt which was afterwards called *Terra Firma*. *Baſtidas* then went to *Hiſpaniola*, where he was impriſoned by *Bovadilla*, who pretended he had bartered for gold with the *Indians* of *Xaragua*: but he ſoon releaſed him; when *Baſtidas* returned to *Spain*, where he paid their majeſties the fifth part of the gold and pearls he had brought; and the whole court was rejoiced to hear that he got them on the continent. About the ſame time, *Alonſo de Ojeda* ſailed from *Cadiz*, on his ſecond voyage;

being

being again accompanied by *Americus Veſputius*, who ſtill perſiſted in arrogating to himſelf the honour of having diſcovered the continent; though he was ſenſible that honour was due to the admiral *Columbus*. They followed the ſame courſe that *Baſtidas* had taken, and coaſted along the ſame ſhore, without knowing that he had been there; but they were not ſo ſucceſsful in their expedition.

NOTWITHSTANDING the admiral *Columbus* had fully proved himſelf innocent of what he had been accuſed by his enemies, he was deprived of his government of *Hiſpaniola*; though he retained the titles of admiral and vice-roy of the *Indies*. He ſtill ſollicited to be reſtored to his full rights and prerogatives; ſince he had performed all he had promiſed, and had been ſo great a ſufferer in the ſervice of the crown; offering to make conſiderable diſcoveries, without regarding his age and infirmity; becauſe he was ſtrongly of opinion, that he might find a ſtraight or paſſage, about that part which was called the iſthmus of *Darien*. Their majeſties amuſed him only with promiſes, till they could hear what account *Obando* would ſend them, about the affairs of the iſland; when they granted the admiral four ſhips, and proviſions for two years; with an aſſurance, that, if he died in the voyage, his ſon Don *James* ſhould ſucceed him in all his rights and prerogatives.

THE admiral ſet ſail, on his fourth expedition to the *Indies*, from *Cadiz*, on the 9th of *May*, 1502; the largeſt of his ſhips being not above ſeventy ton, and the leaſt not under fifty; having one hundred and forty men on board, with his brother the adelantado. The admiral arrived at

the grand *Canary* on the 20th, where he took in wood and water: from whence he ſailed on the 25th, and on the 2d of *June*, landed his men at *Martinico*, one of the *Caribbee* iſlands, where they refreſhed themſelves for three days, and then continued their voyage among a great number of very delightful iſlands, whoſe verdure made them like ſo many beautiful gardens: but, as one of his ſhips was diſabled, the admiral was obliged to make towards *Hiſpaniola*, and came before *St. Domingo* on the 29th. He ſent *Peter de Terreros*, one of his captains, to acquaint the governor with the neceſſity he was under of leaving his diſabled ſhip in port; and to deſire he would permit him to enter the harbour with his ſhips, not only to get another, but alſo to ſhelter himſelf from a great ſtorm which he was certain would ſoon happen, from the porpoiſes playing upon the ſurface of the water, and other obſervations made by mariners on ſuch occaſions. *Obando* refuſed this requeſt, and informed the admiral, that the fleet of thirty-two ſail was ready to put to ſea: but the admiral adviſed him not to permit theſe ſhips to go out in leſs than eight days, becauſe he was certain a dangerous tempeſt was approaching; for which reaſon he was going to put into the next harbour he could find. The governor rejected this admonition; and the pilots, in deriſion of the admiral, called him the prophet: but moſt of them loſt their lives by their folly and obſtinacy; for they ſet ſail on the 1ſt of *July*, and within forty hours there aroſe a violent ſtorm, which ſeparated the fleet, and caſt away twenty of the ſhips, wherein *Bovadilla* and *Roldan* periſhed, with many others: while

while the admiral ſecurely ſhielded himſelf from the danger, by getting into the little creek of *Porto Hermoſo*. A great mortality alſo happened among the *Spaniards* upon the iſland, occaſioned by their exceſſive fatigue in opening the mines; with which employment they were entirely unacquainted: beſides, *Obando* was alſo diſturbed by an inſurrection among the *Indians*.

THE admiral ſailed from *Hiſpaniola* on the 14th of *July*, and made towards the continent; paſſing by the ſouth-ſide of *Jamaica*, from whence he continued his courſe till he arrived at the iſland of *Guayana*, in the gulph of *Honduras*. An *Indian* canoe came to the admiral, being as long as a galley, and eight feet broad: in the middle of which was an awning made of mats of palm-tree leaves, and under it were twenty-five men, with ſeveral women and children, who had been trading upon the coaſt of *Yucatan*, and were returning to the coaſt of *Mexico*, with great quantities of large pieces of cloth, quilts, and quilted waiſtcoats of ſeveral colours. The admiral treated them with great civility, and diſmiſſed them all but one elderly man, whom he detained to give him an account of the neighbouring continent, and to ſerve him as an interpreter among the natives. The *Indian* was aſked by ſigns, if he knew where there was any gold? and he pointed to ſhew that there was ſome to the eaſtward: ſo that the admiral imagined, he ſhould either hear of, or diſcover *China*, if he continued along that coaſt; and, therefore, he forbore proceeding to the weſtward; though in returning back, he laboured againſt the trade-winds and currents, which conſtantly ſet to the

weſt in the north ſea. However, he ran up as far as the preſent town of *Porto Bello*, to which he gave this name, on account of its beautiful ſituation. He landed at ſeveral places, and traded with the natives, who gave him large quantities of gold plates, for a few hawks-bells and other toys: they alſo furniſhed the *Spaniards* with ſeveral kinds of proviſions, and ſeemed a well civilized people. Upon many parts of the coaſt, were diſcovered an infinite number of pine trees and oaks; as alſo ſix or ſeven ſorts of palm, and many myrabolan trees bearing a pleaſant and odoriferous fruit. Some of the natives were entirely naked, others only covered their privities, and others wore jackets without ſleeves which reached down to their navels. There were many who had their faces and bodies painted with ſeveral colours: a few of them were diſtinguiſhed by a kind of coloured cotton turbans on their heads, inſtead of caps; and ſeveral of them adorned their ears and noſes with thin plates of gold; but thoſe who hung them to their ears, ſtretched them to ſuch an enormous ſize, that the admiral called their country *La Coſta de la Orejas*, or *The Coaſt of Ears*. The houſes in ſome towns were built with timber, and thatched with reeds; having tombs adjacent to them, wherein dead bodies were embalmed, and wrapt in cotton cloths, without any diſagreeable ſcent: over which were planks carved with the figures of beaſts, and on ſome the reſemblance of the perſon deceaſed. In ſome parts, the *Indians* came down armed in great numbers, with bows, arrows, ſpears, and clubs, as if they intended to prevent the *Spaniards* from landing: but they were ſoon pacified, and traded

very

very civilly afterwards: though, when the admiral asked them some questions, and ordered his notary to take down their answers in writing, they were in such a consternation at seeing the pen, ink, and paper, that most of them ran away, imagining that writing was a kind of exorcism.

THE admiral left *Porto Bello* on the 9th of *November*, and a little to the eastward of it discovered some small islands, where he found several refreshments; which made him call them *de Bastimentos*, or *The Islands of Provision*. But, as the stormy east and north-east winds obstructed him from proceeding in his intended course, he returned again to the westward, on the 5th of *December*, being informed that there were gold mines in the province of *Veragua*. He met with such bad weather, that he called this part of the country *la Costa de los Contrastes*, or *The Coast of Opposition*: however, on the 6th of *January*, 1503, the ships arrived on the coast of *Veragua*, and entered a river which the admiral called *Bethlehem*: they traded with the natives, who brought them great quantities of gold; particularly, one of the caziques of the country, whose name was *Quibia*, and who also conducted them to the mines of *Urira*, where the *Spaniards* gathered some gold among the roots of the trees; returning to their ships with great satisfaction at finding the precious metal so near the surface of the earth.

THE admiral likewise received information, that there were very considerable mines of gold farther up the country; which occasioned him to come to the resolution of establishing a colony upon the river of *Bethlehem*, where he intended to leave his

brother, with moſt of the men, while he returned to *Spain* for farther reinforcements.

ACCORDINGLY, ſome houſes were built, a fort erected, and a garriſon of eighty men appointed; who had proper ſupplies of arms, ſtores, and proviſions. This was the firſt colony which the *Spaniards* planted on the continent, though it was of ſhort duration: for the adelantado being apprehenſive that the cazique *Quibia*, was preparing to diſpoſſeſs him of his ſettlement, ſent a body of men to ſecure him and his family; which was expeditiouſly performed, and all of them carried on board one of the ſhips, except the cazique, who made his eſcape, returned to his people, and aſſembled a numerous body of them to attack the *Spaniards*. The *Indians* were as private in coming to attack the *Spaniſh* forts, as the *Spaniards* were in ſeizing the *Indian* prince; but they were not equally ſucceſsful, being repulſed, and many of them ſlain. However, the *Indians* afterwards killed ſeveral of the *Spaniards*; which ſo much intimidated thoſe in garriſon, that they abandoned the fort, and returned on board the ſhips; leaving the hulk of one ſhip behind, which was all worm-eaten. They returned to *Porto Bello*, where they left another of the ſhips, and proceeded to *Cuba*, where they eſcaped a violent ſtorm, and refreſhed themſelves: after which, they ſtood for *Jamaica*, and arrived there on *Midſummer-eve*. The two remaining ſhips were ſo leaky, that it was impoſſible to keep them afloat: and therefore the admiral ran them both aground, in a ſmall creek, called *Santa Gloria*, as cloſe together, and as near the ſhore as poſſible; where they ſupported and ſhored up the ſhips with

timber,

timber, to prevent them from bulging: but, as they were filled with water almoſt to the decks, cabbins were made on the heads and ſterns, to ſhelter the men from the weather.

When the ſhips were thus ſecured, the *Indians* came in their canoes to ſell proviſions, and a very friendly intercourſe was carried on between them and the *Spaniards*; whom the admiral kept on board the ſhips, for fear they ſhould go up the country and diſoblige the natives. The admiral then conſulted with his officers about the beſt means of getting away from the iſland; when it was agreed to ſend advice to the governor of *Hiſpaniola*, of their unhappy condition, and to requeſt that he would ſend a ſhip to convoy them all away. But this was an affair which muſt neceſſarily be attended with the utmoſt danger and difficulty; becauſe the diſtance between the two neareſt points of *Jamaica* and *Hiſpaniola*, was about twenty-four leagues, beſides thirty more to the points where it was proper to croſs over; and this paſſage was to be undertook in canoes, made of one piece of timber, which are in danger of being overſet by any violent agitation of the waves. *James Mendez de Segura*, chief notary of the fleet, and *Bartholomew Fieſco* were appointed to undertake this paſſage, with ſix *Spaniards*, and ten *Indians* to row; who underwent great fatigue for ten days, before they arrived at *Hiſpaniola*. *James Mendez* waited upon the governor, who was very dilatory in diſpatching the buſineſs which the admiral requeſted: however, *Mendez* bought a ſhip at *St. Domingo*; though it was a conſiderable time before he was able to ſend it to *Jamaica*.

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THE admiral gave *Mendez* ſome diſpatches to be ſent immediately to their Catholic majeſties, containing a full relation of his voyage, the dangers and troubles he had undergone, and of his diſcovery of the rich mines at *Veragua*: at the ſame time complaining of the ungenerous treatment which had been ſhewn him by his impriſonment, and the ſeizure of all his effects; praying redreſs; as alſo lamenting, that, after having ſpent twenty years in the ſervice of the crown, he had not any habitation to take ſhelter in, when he ſhould return to *Spain*, and muſt be obliged to take up his lodgings at a public inn. But the admiral had ſtill greater difficulties to encounter; for the ſuccour which he expected from *Hiſpaniola*, was ſo long in coming over, that his men began to be diſcontented, and to deſpair of their ſafety. *Francis de Porras*, one of his captains, was at the head of the mutineers, and publickly told the admiral, that if he would not leave the iſland immediately, they would leave him behind: after which, they ſeized ſome canoes which the admiral had bought of the *Indians*, and went in them to the eaſtern point of *Jamaica*, where they were unable to make their intended paſſage to *Hiſpaniola*.

THE admiral found about half the people faithful to their commander: but the *Indians* began to ſhew him ſome diſreſpect, when they found ſuch a conſiderable number of his men had revolted: though he was ſoon relieved from this diſtreſs in the following manner. He knew there would be a lunar eclipſe in three days, and ſent an *Indian*, who could ſpeak *Spaniſh*, to invite the caziques, with the other principal inhabitants of thoſe parts,

to

to pay him a viſit. They accepted the invitation, and waited upon the admiral the day before the eclipſe happened: when he told them, that the revolted *Spaniards* had ſo much offended heaven, that the Great God, to whom they were ſervants, would not permit the mutineers to paſs over into *Hiſpaniola*. He alſo acquainted the *Indians*, that they themſelves had alſo incurred the diſpleaſure of this Great God of the chriſtians, who was the Supreme Lord of the whole univerſe; and was reſolved to chaſtiſe them with famine and other calamities, becauſe they would not ſupply him with proviſions in exchange for his commodities. And he further told them, that, to convince them of the truth of what he aſſerted, his Omnipotent God was pleaſed they ſhould ſee a certain ſign of his anger in the ſky: wherefore, they might that night obſerve, that the moon would appear of a bloody hue ſoon after ſhe roſe, to denote the puniſhment which God would inflict upon the *Indians*. When the admiral had made this ſpeech, ſome of the *Indians* went away greatly terrified, and others derided the prediction: but the latter were ſoon put into an equal conſternation with the former; for the eclipſe began as ſoon as the moon was up, and increaſed as ſhe advanced in the horizon: which gave all the *Indians* ſuch horrible apprehenſions of the anger of that deity they imagined they had offended, that they expeditiouſly returned to the admiral, intreating him to pray to his God to pardon them; and aſſuring him they would ſupply him with all the proviſions he would demand. The admiral anſwered, he would offer up his prayers to God; ſhut himſelf up; and waited till the eclipſe was at its

its greateſt height; when he came out again to the *Indians*, telling them that God had forgiven them, on his promiſes that they would ſupply the chriſtians for the future: and, as a proof that this pardon was obtained, they would ſee that the moon would be gradually appeaſed, and return to her uſual complexion. The *Indians* ſoon perceived the eclipſe to go off; upon which they admired the God of the chriſtians, returned the admiral the moſt grateful acknowledgment of his favour, and afterwards plentifully ſupplied him with proviſions.

EIGHT months were now elapſed ſince the departure of *Mendez* and *Fieſco*, without any advice of their arrival at *Hiſpaniola*; which made thoſe, who continued with the admiral, deſpair of ever receiving any relief; and, while the mutineers under *Porras* were committing great ravages upon the *Indians* in the eaſtern part of the iſland, another mutiny was ready to break out among thoſe who were with the admiral. But this was prevented by the arrival of a ſmall caravel, ſent by the governor of *Hiſpaniola*, only to ſee in what condition the admiral and his men were in: for the commander was ordered not to go on ſhore, and to return as ſoon as he had delivered a letter to the admiral, with a preſent of a caſk of wine, and two flitches of bacon. The admiral told his men, the caravel was too ſmall to carry them all together, and was returned for more aſſiſtance; which ſatisfied them, and brought them to their obedience. But *Porras* perſiſted in his revolt; though he was ſoon reduced by the adelantado, who marched againſt the rebels, defeated them, and took their leader priſoner; after which they all ſubmitted.

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THE joy of the admiral for this ſucceſs was increaſed by the arrival of a ſhip and caravel from *Hiſpaniola*, freighted by *James Mendez*, without any aſſiſtance from the governor; on board of which the admiral embarked, with all his people, on the 28th of *June*, 1504, and arrived at *St. Domingo*, on the 13th of *Auguſt*.

HE found the iſland in peace; but was informed of many cruelties which the *Spaniards* had committed on the *Indians*, before this tranquility enſued: particularly, by the barbarous murder of *Anacaona*, a woman of great authority; and many of her ſubordinate caziques, who were ſurrounded and burnt in one of their principal houſes, as they were preparing an entertainment for the *Spaniards*. *Cotubanama*, the principal cazique in the iſland, was alſo taken priſoner, and hanged by the order of the governor, who had taken ſuch precaution to ſuppreſs the *Indians*, that the admiral now found there were ſeventeen *Spaniſh* towns on the iſland; as alſo, that their Catholic majeſties had granted liberty for the *Spaniards* to make ſlaves of the *Indians*, though they had formerly ordered that no violence ſhould be offered to theſe now truly unhappy and miſerable people.

THE governor paid the admiral all marks of external reſpect; but privately infringed upon his juriſdiction and authority, by releaſing *Porras*, and threatening to puniſh thoſe who had ſtood honourably by the admiral. But the admiral ſettled his affairs in the iſland, where he had a noble eſtate, and many valuable effects: after which, he ſet ſail for *Europe*, on the 12th of *September*, and arrived ſafely at *St. Lucar*; from whence he went to the court,

court, which was then at *Segovia* in old *Caſtile*. The king gave him all the appearance of a gracious reception: but the admiral ſoon had the mortification to perceive that all his ſervices were neglected. His great patroneſs, queen *Iſabella*, was dead: the courtiers envied him the wealth and honours he had acquired; while the king continued his old practice of amuſing him with fair and deluſive promiſes. The admiral preſented ſeveral petitions, ſetting forth his great ſervices and ſufferings; as alſo deſiring the performance of what had been promiſed him by their majeſties: but the king was ſo far from having any intention to fulfil his engagements, that he cauſed his miniſters to offer the admiral a large eſtate in *Spain*, in exchange for his poſſeſſions in the *Indies*. This gave the admiral ſuch perplexity, that he complained of his injuries to the archbiſhop of *Seville*, and retired to *Valladolid*, where he died on the 20th of *May*, 1506, with all the reſignation of a man, under a ſenſe, that the moſt important ſervices, attended by the moſt unexpected ſucceſs, were thrown away upon an ingrateful nation.

THUS obſcurely died the glorious *Chriſtopher Columbus*, the diſcoverer of a new world; whoſe name will ever appear more illuſtrious among mankind, than the names of any of the heroes of antiquity; for their greateſt glory was to form a city, or conquer a ſtate; but *Columbus* paved the way for the conqueſt of a world, and the civilizing of nations. He in perſon diſcovered the *Bahama* iſlands; the great iſlands of *Cuba*, *Hiſpaniola*, and *Porto Rico*, with ſeveral of the *Caribbee* iſlands: he afterwards diſcovered a great part of

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the continent, and received ſome intelligence of the ſouth ſea. So that all thoſe adventurers, who afterwards extended the diſcoveries of the *Spaniards*, only made improvements upon what the great *Columbus* had begun; though *Americus Veſputius* had the good fortune, and the great vanity, to have this great region called after his own name, to the manifeſt prejudice of the honour of the real diſcoverer. However, if *Columbus* had performed ſuch a wonderful enterprize in the remoter ages, as the diſcovery of a new world, he would not only have had temples and ſtatues erected to his honour; but, like *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, ſome ſtar would have been dedicated to his memory, which had been held in as much veneration as their deities. His body was magnificently conveyed to the monaſtery of the carthuſians at *Seville*, and from thence to the city of *St. Domingo* in *Hiſpaniola*, where it was honourably interred in the chancel of the cathedral: his Catholic majeſty being ſo juſt to the memory of this excellent man, that he conferred many honours upon his family, and erected a beautiful monument in the cathedral of *Seville*, with an inſcription to the following effect.

On Chriſtopher Columbus, *the firſt diſcoverer of* America; *who was born at* Nervi, *in the ſtate of* Genoa, *and died in* Spain, *in* 1506; *being buried in the cathedral church of* Seville.

COLUMBUS, born on the *Ligurian* ſoil,
Inſpir'd by Heav'n, firſt bore the ſeaman's toil,
Advent'rous o'er the vaſt *Atlantic* main,
To find another, richer world, for *Spain*:
Succeſs his labours crown'd; yet ſtill remain'd
Great deeds, by men as great, to be attain'd.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

In what manner Americus Veſputius *got the new world called* America, *after his own name, in prejudice to that of* Columbus. *How king* Henry VIIth *of* England, *employed* John Cabot, *and his ſon* Sebaſtian, *to make diſcoveries on the north coaſt of* America. *The diſcovery of* Braſil, *by the* Portugueſe. *The expedition of* Vaſco Nunez de Bilboa, *to the continent of* America; *and the diſcovery of the ſouth ſea. A ſhort account of what was diſcovered by other adventurers; particularly, the paſſage of* Ferdinand Magellan *into the ſouth ſea, the firſt circumnavigation round the globe, and what other commanders alſo performed. With a repreſentation of the different attempts to find out a north-eaſt and north-weſt paſſage to* America: *as likewiſe, what parts of that country are now enjoyed by the different* European *powers.*

THE enemies of *Columbus*, not ſatisfied with having given his Catholic majeſty an ill opinion of his merit, ſoon after he had diſcovered the new world, prevailed upon him to invite *Americus Veſputius*, a *Florentine*, over from *Liſbon*, and to employ him in the ſame diſcoveries: but, though he made two voyages in the years 1497, and 1498, he neither improved, or enlarged upon the diſcoveries of *Columbus*. However, *Americus* was afterwards employed in the ſervice of *Emanuel* king of *Portugal*, who, in *May*, 1501, ſent him out with three ſhips from *Liſbon*; when he coaſted along the continent of ſouth *America*, from five to

fifty-

fifty degrees of ſouth latitude; from whence the cold and tempeſtuous weather obliged him to return to *Portugal*, where he publiſhed his voyage; and made known that there was a continent in the new world, little inferior to that of the old, for its dimenſions, he was ſo happy as to give his name to the whole regions of this new country, which, from him, has ever ſince retained the name of *America*; though he never attempted to make one ſettlement in it, either for the crowns of *Spain* or *Portugal*: while *Columbus*, who was the original diſcoverer of the continent, and who made ſuch acquiſitions among the iſlands for the *Spaniards*, had not the honour to have a ſingle place nominated to his memory.

In this manner, the great continent of *America* was diſcovered, within the ſpace of about ten years, from 67 degrees of north to 52 degrees of ſouth latitude. In the mean time the report of theſe great advantages accruing to *Spain*, from the diſcoveries made by *Columbus*, excited other princes to make ſome ſimilar experiments, and particularly king *Henry* the VIIth of *England*, who had before declared his intentions of embarking in the enterprize. This prince had a *Venetian* in his dominions, whoſe name was *John Cabot*, of a bold enterprizing genius, and of great experience in navigation: therefore, he reſolved immediately to employ him, with a view of obtaining ſome ſhare of the wealth of the new *Indies*, for the benefit of his own ſubjects. Accordingly, on the 5th of *March*, 1490, the king granted his letters patent to *John Cabot*, and his three ſons, *Lewis*, *Sebaſtian*, and *Sancius*, for making diſcoveries in

any part of the world, poſſeſſed by heathens or infidels, and to get the poſſeſſion of them under his title and juriſdiction, reſerving a fifth part of the profits thereof to the crown. By virtue of this patent, *John Cabot*, and his ſon *Sebaſtian*, ſet ſail from *Briſtol*; and in *June*, 1497, diſcovered the iſland of *Newfoundland*, from whence they brought home three of the natives, and named a port there *Sancius Haven*. Upon the death of *John Cabot*, his ſon *Sebaſtian* was employed by king *Henry* VIIth, to find out a paſſage to *China* and the *Eaſt Indies*, by the north-weſt: in conſequence of which, he ſet ſail from *England* in 1498, and proceeded as far as 58 degrees of north latitude; from whence he coaſted it all the way to the ſouthward, along the continent of north *America*, as high as *Florida*, where his proviſions fell ſhort, and obliged him to return to *England*. The commotions between the *Engliſh* and the *Scotch*, poſtponed the further proſecution of theſe diſcoveries: upon which, *Sebaſtian Cabot* went to *Spain*, where he was made chief pilot of the kingdom, and was highly careſſed, to prevent his engaging with any other court; though he received an annuity of 166 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* from the king of *England*, as a reward for his ſervices; becauſe he was juſtly reputed the firſt diſcoverer of the continent in thoſe parts.

PETER ALVAREZ CAPRALIS, an admiral in the ſervice of *Emanuel*, king of *Portugal*, was ſent with a fleet to the *Eaſt Indies*; but was carried by a ſtorm on the coaſt of *Braſil*, which he firſt diſcovered, and which has ſince proved of infinite benefit to his nation. From whence it is natural to believe, that if *Columbus* had not expreſsly

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gone in ſearch of the new world eight years before, a paſſage to it would now have been opened by means of this accidental diſcovery.

THE *Pinzons*, and others, who had accompanied the admiral *Columbus* in his voyages, alſo made ſome further diſcoveries at their own expence, by virtue of commiſſions given them by king *Ferdinand*, who gave little encouragement to *Columbus*; becauſe he was jealous of the authority which that great man had acquired, on account of the agreement made with him, when he firſt ſailed in ſearch of the *Indies*: which appears the more probable, from the conduct of the king, after the death of the admiral; for his majeſty then readily granted commiſſions for new diſcoveries, and treated all ſuch as made them very favourably. But, after the death of *Columbus*, there were two cauſes which principally prevented the progreſs that might otherwiſe have been expected in theſe parts from the diligence of the *Spaniards*. The firſt was, the avarice of the *Spaniſh* government, which calculated the worth of adventures barely by ſuch returns of wealth as they ſent into *Spain*; whereby they were induced to act ſo rapaciouſly, as frequently to hazard, for the ſake of a little gold, the poſſeſſion of whole countries full of commodities of great value. And the ſecond cauſe was, the diſtance the *Spaniards* were at from their own country, and the neceſſity there was of truſting ſeveral commanders with independent commiſſions: which not only occaſioned ſeveral mutinies, but inſpired the *Spaniſh* officers with ſuch a ſpirit of cruelty againſt the native *Indians*, as tended to the depopulating of thoſe well inhabited countries, and

rendered them far leſs beneficial than they otherwiſe would have been to the barbarous invaders.

COLUMBUS died in a full conviction, that what he had diſcovered on the coaſt of *Darien*, was the ſame continent with the *Eaſt-Indies*: for the natives confirmed him in his miſtakes, by their reports; becauſe, whatever queſtions he aſked, they anſwered in the affirmative, from a mean deſire of flattering their new maſters. But, when the admiral was dead, the ſucceeding adventurers were led by chance, or reports, never pretending to make diſcoveries by rule or reaſon; which ſometimes was attended with happy conſequences; and at others, drew them into great inconveniencies; for, being ignorant in what manner to proportion their forces to the exploits upon which they went, the *Spaniſh* commanders frequently loſt the greateſt part of their men by war and ſickneſs; ſo that they were ſometimes brought to ruin, inſtead of making any acquiſitions either of wealth or territory.

VASCO NUNEZ de BILBOA, was the next conſiderable diſcoverer, being a man of great parts, and high ſpirit. He made an entire conqueſt of *Cuba*, and found it to be an iſland: after which, he ſailed to the river of *Darien*, on the iſthmus of *America*, where *Columbus* had ineffectually attempted to make a ſettlement. *Nunez* erected a fort, and built a town, which he called *Santa Maria del Antigua*, or *Old St. Mary*'s: he alſo cultivated a friendſhip with the caziques, or *Indian* princes; and, by the advice of one of them, undertook a very troubleſome march through the mountains that run along the middle of the iſthmus, parallel to the north and ſouth ſeas. After

travelling 25 days, on the 25th of *September*, 1513, he diſcovered the *South Seas*, which no *European* had ever ſeen before, and received an imperfect account of the great empire of *Peru*; which opened a new field for diſcoveries; being in itſelf a much greater exploit than any of his countrymen had yet undertaken. But the *Indians*, who raiſed his hopes by reporting prodigious things of the wealth of the great kingdom, as they called it; at the ſame time, greatly embarraſſed him by poſitively aſſerting, that the inhabitants of this country were a numerous and warlike people; and that it was in vain for him to think of the conqueſt of that country, with the handful of men under his command.

Upon this information, *Nunez* reſolved to attempt nothing, till ſuch time as he received a commiſſion and a reinforcement from *Spain*: but *Peter Arias* was ſent over as governor by king *Ferdinand*, who alſo appointed *Nunez* adelantado, or lieutenant of the *South Seas*. This naturally produced bad conſequences, as *Nunez* and *Arias* were always at variance: though they came to a reconciliation, and *Nunez* was ſent with three hundred men to make diſcoveries in the *South Seas*; who ſettled in that part of the country where *Panama* was afterwards built. The confidence the *Spaniards* had in the conduct of this commander, occaſioned every thing to go on very chearfully, and great expectations were formed from the ſucceſs of his enterprize, when he was ſuddenly recalled to *Darien*, where he was brought to a formal trial, upon a charge of treaſonable expreſſions, ſupported by falſe witneſſes, whoſe perjury gave *Arias* a colour for ſtriking off the head of his rival; though,

at the ſame time, he blaſted the hopes, and broke the ſpirits of his people.

PORTO RICO was diſcovered by *Columbus*, but it was not ſettled till 1509; when *John Ponce de Leon* cauſed it to be inhabited by a colony of *Spaniards*; and, in 1512, ſailed upon new diſcoveries to the continent, where he went on ſhore, took poſſeſſion of a large tract, and called it *Florida*. However, he was no more than a bare diſcoverer, or at moſt he took but a nominal poſſeſſion of the country: for the natives obliged him to reimbark his forces, and return to *Porto Rico*, without being able to make any ſettlement upon the continent.

NOR was *Ferdinand de Soto*, who undertook the conqueſt of *Florida* ſeveral years afterwards, more ſucceſsful, though he had a much ſuperior force: but the *Spaniards* were not fond of planting colonies upon this part of the continent, leaving it to the *Engliſh* and *French*; the former beginning their ſettlements in 1584, under the direction of Sir *Walter Raleigh*; and the latter, in 1534, firſt appeared upon theſe coaſts, under the command of *James Carthier* of *St. Malo*, who firſt diſcovered the river of *St. Laurence*.

FERDINAND CORTEZ, who was born at *Medellin*, a ſmall town of *Eſtramadura* in *Spain*, in 1485, was the moſt illuſtrious perſon of all the adventurers, who ſucceeded the admiral *Columbus*; and diſtinguiſhed himſelf moſt in *America*, by the reduction of the great empire of *Mexico*, which he began in 1518, and compleated in 1521.

IN 1525, *Francis Pizarro*, and *Diego de Almagro*, undertook the conqueſt of *Peru*, which they accompliſhed in 1532.

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AND, in 1540, Don *Baldivia*, entered upon the conqueſt of *Chili*, in which he partly ſucceeded, but was unable to get poſſeſſion of the whole.

THUS it may be ſeen how *Columbus* firſt thought the deſign of diſcovering a new world was practicable, and how he happily made the diſcovery; after this opinion, for many centuries, had been maintained by ſome learned men, and exploded by others. *Nunez* afterwards obtained a knowledge of the *South Seas*, or of a ſea to the ſouth of the new diſcovered continent; and a paſſage was ſoon after made into that ſea by *Ferdinand de Magallanes*, who is generally called *Magellan*, and *Ruy Falero*, both natives of *Portugal*, and men of very great experience in the art of navigation.

FROM the time of the diſcoveries made under the commiſſions granted by their Catholic majeſties, the *Portugueſe* grew extremely jealous of their poſſeſſions in the *Eaſt-Indies*; till the pope interpoſed, and by a bull, which then had a deciſive authority among princes of his own communion, decreed all countries diſcovered in the eaſt to *Portugal*, and all ſuch as were found in the weſt to *Spain*. But this rather ſmothered, than extinguiſhed the flames of contention; both powers continuing to give the greateſt regard to any ſuch propoſitions, as tended to the aggrandizement of the one, at the expence of the other; which encouraged ſuch enterprizing men, as were not gratified at one court, to make immediate applications to the other; though it is not eaſy to be determined, whether this was a greater advantage to their princes in particular, or an advantage to *Europe* in general.

THE court of *Portugal* diſguſted both *Magellan* and *Falero*, on a very trivial account; upon which, they retired to *Spain*, and made propoſitions of new diſcoveries to cardinal *Ximenes*, then archbiſhop of *Toledo*, and governor of *Spain*, upon the death of king *Ferdinand*; who gave them all proper encouragement; notwithſtanding the *Portugueſe* miniſtry uſed their utmoſt endeavours to depreciate the characters and merit of thoſe men whom they had neglected in their own country.

THE poſition which *Columbus* had laid down, of the poſſibility of arriving at the *Eaſt-Indies*, by ſailing weſt, was certainly true, though he had not proved it by demonſtration: but this was the foundation upon which *Magellan* formed his deſign. He knew it was very poſſible to ſail from the *South Seas*, which had been then diſcovered, to the *Molucca* iſlands; and that it was very probable, a paſſage might be found into thoſe ſeas, through the *Rio de la Plata*, or ſome other opening upon that coaſt: therefore, if ſuch a diſcovery could be effected, it would fall expreſsly under the words of the papal bull, as it would be made from the weſt; whereby *Spain* might reap the profit of both *Indies*.

IN conſequence of theſe propoſals, it was agreed, that the undertakers ſhould have the twentieth part of the clear profits: that the government of any iſlands they ſhould diſcover, ſhould belong to them and their heirs for ever, with the title of adelantados: and that the crown ſhould furniſh them with five ſhips, and two hundred and thirty-four men, with proviſions for two years.

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THE fleet ſailed from *Seville*, on the 10th of *Auguſt*, 1519, under the ſole command of *Ferdinand Magellan*, who arrived on the coaſt of *Braſil*, and proceeded ſouthwards; carefully examining all the rivers and bays he could diſcover: but, being harraſſed with continual ſtorms, the ſailors grew very uneaſy; and his officers, when they perceived that *Magellan* intended to proceed towards the antarctic pole, remonſtrated againſt what they took to be a romantic proceeding. On this occaſion, *Magellan* imitated the example of *Columbus*; ſhewing himſelf both a brave and ſkilful officer. He called all his people together, to whom he addreſſed himſelf in a long and ſpirited ſpeech; inſiſting much on the bravery of the *Spaniſh* nation, as alſo on the great advantages which would accrue from their going through with this undertaking. By this means he acquired great popularity, and authority ſufficient to puniſh ſome of the mutineers with remarkable ſeverity: after which, he proceeded on his enterprize, ſuffering incredible hardſhips till the beginning of *November*, when he arrived in fifty-two degrees of ſouth latitude, and diſcovered thoſe ſtreights, which have been ſince called by his name, and will perpetuate his fame with the memory of *Columbus*. Through theſe ſtreights *Magellan* came into the *South Seas*, on the 27th of *November*; and continued his courſe, for three months and twenty days, through this vaſt ocean towards the *Moluccas*: but, in his paſſage, he diſcovered the *Philippines*, and landed on the iſland of *Cebu*, where he met with a friendly reception by a pagan prince, whom he converted to chriſtianity: though, by endeavouring to reduce the whole iſland to the obedience of that

prince,

prince, *Magellan* was unfortunately killed, in a battle, on the 27th of *April*, 1521. The death of this great man was of bad conſequence to his people; who aſſumed a power of appointing and depoſing their commanders, which brought moſt of them to deſtruction. However, *John Sebaſtian del Cano*, who commanded one of the ſhips called the *Victory*, happily conducted that veſſel, with about thirty-five men on board, ſafe to the port of *St. Lucar*, on the 6th of *September*, 1522; having ſpent three years, and twenty-ſeven days, in this circumnavigation of the globe; being the firſt who performed ſo extenſive a voyage; which now fully demonſtrated the folly of thoſe perſons who held the opinion of the antipodes, as fictitious and heretical.

THE valuable cargo of ſpices brought home by the *Victory*, and a proſpect of carrying on a moſt beneficial trade to the *Indies*, by this new route, engaged the *Spaniſh* government to ſend *Garcia de Loviſa*, with ſeven ſhips, and 450 men, to acquire a more perfect knowledge of theſe ſtreights; which he had the good fortune to paſs; though it proved a moſt unfortunate voyage; for, by one accident or other, all the ſhips were either ſtopped in *America*, or loſt in the *Moluccas*. *Sebaſtian Cabot*, and *Americus Veſputius*, were neither of them able to diſcover the ſtreights of *Magellan*; though they were both employed for that purpoſe by the king of *Portugal*. Many other misfortunes alſo happened in the proſecution of the ſame deſign; ſo that it was neglected, till 1578, when Sir *Francis Drake* happily paſſed theſe ſtreights, and ſurrounded the world; in which he was followed by ſeveral others at different times; particularly, by Sir *Thomas Cavendiſh*

Cavendiſh in 1586, by Sir *Richard Hawkins* in 1593, by *Oliver Van Noort* in 1599, by *George Spilbergen* in 1615, and in 1616 by *William Cornelius Van Schoton*. This laſt adventurer had *James le Maire* on board his ſhip, whoſe name was given to a new ſtreight, that they diſcovered on the 10th of *January*, 1616: ſince which time the ſtreights of *Magellan* have not been ſo much frequented; becauſe the ſtreights *Le Maire* are found much the ſafer of the two; and, therefore, lord *Anſon* paſſed through them, on the 7th of *March*, 1741, when he made his remarkable expedition into the *South Seas*, and round the world, which he performed in three years and nine months. But the circum-navigation of the globe was alſo performed by captain *Dampier* in 1683; by captain *Woodes Rogers* in 1708; by captain *Clipperton*, and captain *Shelvocke*, in 1719; and by commodore *Roggewein* in 1721.

If the diſcovery of *America* had not been made, the trade to the *Eaſt-Indies* muſt have eat up, and deſtroyed the people of *Europe* in general: for, whatever may be gained by the *European* powers, it is an incontrovertible point, that immenſe ſums, in ſilver, are annually ſent from *Europe* to the *Eaſt-Indies*, to make up the ballance of trade in favour of the latter. Upon this account, it was projected to make a diſcovery, by a north-eaſt, or north-weſt paſſage, to *India* and *America*: for it was then eſteemed, as ungenerous, and diſhonourable, to encroach upon, or ſupplant, any other nation in trade, to take the advantage of their diſcoveries.

The many attempts that have been made to find out a north-eaſt paſſage to *Japan* and *China*, ſufficiently prove, that the trading nations of *Europe* are

are fully ſenſible of the many advantages that would neceſſarily reſult from ſuch a diſcovery: becauſe ſhips are now obliged to go round the *Cape of Good Hope*; or, which is ſtill a larger navigation, by the ſtreights of *Magellan*, thoſe of *Le Maire*, or round *Cape Horn*: but, if this north-eaſt paſſage could be made, they might then paſs by the coaſt of *Ruſſia*, and *Great Tartary*, into the ſea of *Japan*, in little more than a three-months voyage. Beſides, ſuch a diſcovery would change the very nature of the *Eaſt-India* trade, by bringing the ballance over to *Europe*; for *Europeans* might then hope to gain as much, by cloathing the inhabitants of the northern countries, as would ballance their commerce with thoſe in other parts. The firſt northern diſcoveries were made at the charge of a company of *Engliſh* merchants, incorporated in the reign of *Edward* VIth, and called, *The merchant adventurers for diſcovering lands unknown*: who employed Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, in 1553, to make the firſt attempt; but himſelf, and all his company, were frozen to death, at the mouth of the river *Arſina* in *Lapland*; where they retired for ſafety from the ice, after having advanced as far as 72 degrees of north latitude.

THE *Engliſh* company ſtill perſiſted in their endeavours to diſcover a north-eaſt paſſage; and, in 1556, fitted out a ſhip under the command of captain *Burroughs*; who diſcovered *Nova Zembla*, and the ſtreights of *Weigatz*, or *Waigats*, which divide *Nova Zembla* from the continent of *Ruſſia*. Captain *Burroughs* was of opinion, that the gulph on the eaſt of that ſtreight was a free and open ſea: which occaſioned a third voyage, in 1580, by captain *Pett*,

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and captain *Jackman*: but they were both unſucceſsful, and the former was loſt in his return home; whereby the *Engliſh* company were diſcouraged from purſuing ſuch a diſcovery to the north-eaſt: though the *Dutch*, and ſome private *Engliſh* adventurers, afterwards attempted it, when the former ſhook off the *Spaniſh* yoke, and were deſirous of eſtabliſhing a trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*: however, they were unable to find out this paſſage; notwithſtanding captain *Barents*, and captain *Ryp*, ſailed as far as 80 degrees, and diſcovered *Spitzbergen*, or *Greenland*. The difficulty in making a north-eaſt paſſage to *America*, appears to be either in ſailing through the ſtreights of *Weigatz*, or round *Nova Zembla*, or more northwards round *Greenland*: but the *Ruſſians* ſeem confident of making ſuch a diſcovery, by the ſea of *Tartary*, which will enable them to trade with more facility to *Japan*, *China*, and the *Eaſt-Indies*, as alſo to *America*.

WHEN this paſſage, by the north-eaſt, was declined in *England*, ſome experienced navigators turned their thoughts to the north-weſt part of *America*; where there ſeemed a greater probability of obtaining a paſſage; becauſe the difficulties would be leſs; and the diſtance no way ſo great between *Hudſon*'s *Bay*, or *Davis*'s *Streights*, and the north coaſt of *America*, above *California*, as between *Nova Zembla*, and the ſuppoſed ſtreights of *Anian*, near *Japan*.

THERE are ſeveral arguments urged, not only to prove the probability, but even the reality of a north-weſt paſſage into the *South Sea*, or *Pacific Ocean*. For it is thought probable, there muſt be a free communication of the waters at the pole; becauſe,

becauſe, if it was otherwiſe, it would be difficult to apprehend how the equilibrium of land and water is maintained; or that regularity which is obſerved in the tides, where the ſhores are not covered by iſlands, rocks, or broken lands. Beſides, if there was no ſuch paſſage, there would be much greater changes in the tides towards the pole; as is ſeen in the *Mediterranean*, and *Baltic*, which are cloſe ſeas, and therefore differ from the ocean; there being a ſenſible tide only in ſome parts of the former, and none at all in the latter: but the tides are high, and very regular, in the moſt northern ſeas; which give the ſtrongeſt probability, that there muſt be ſome paſſage, or communication, with the reſt of the ocean. And this argument has the greater force, when confined to *Hudſon*'s *Bay*, where there are ſuch irregular tides, in ſome places, as ſeem to indicate a greater reception of water into that bay, than comes from *Hudſon*'s *Streights*, or any other known paſſage, into the bay: but, from the nature and height of theſe tides, as alſo from the ſituation of the places where they are obſerved, it ſeems almoſt indiſputable that they come by the weſt, either through ſome large and practicable paſſage, or through ſome icy and impaſſable channel: the former being the opinion of Mr. *Dobbs*; and the latter having been aſſerted by captain *Middleton*. Indeed, from the diſcoveries already made on the north-weſt coaſts of *America*, the general opinion of a paſſage is ſo ſtrong and prevalent, that in the charter granted to the *Hudſon*'s *Bay* company, which inveſts them with very extenſive privileges, ſuch as a power of making peace or war, raiſing troops, and the ſovereignty of the lands they ſhould diſcover,

cover, not poſſeſſed by any chriſtian power; it is recited, as a chief motive for the grant, that they ſhould uſe all means for the diſcovery of ſuch a paſſage; to the ſucceſs of which, it was ſuppoſed, that their ſettlement and trade in *Hudſon*'s *Bay*, would greatly contribute: but it is now more reaſonable to imagine, that the company, who monopolize the rich fur trade to themſelves, would be very unwilling to ſuffer any great diminution of ſuch a private beneficial branch of commerce; which will certainly be the caſe, if ſuch a diſcovery be happily effected.

SIR *Martin Forbiſher* was the firſt perſon that attempted to find out a north-weſt paſſage into *America*; who, in 1576 and 1578, made ſeveral new diſcoveries of large bays, ſtreights, iſlands, and capes; to which he gave different names, and took poſſeſſion of the land in the name of queen *Elizabeth*, calling it, *Meta incognita*. He was followed by Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, in 1582; by captain *John Davis*, in 1585 and 1586, who ſailed as high as 72 deg. 12 min. of north latitude; by captain *Henry Hudſon*, in 1610, who proceeded 100 leagues farther than any had done before, and gave ſeveral names to many places, beſides the ſtreights and bays that ſtill bear his own name; by Sir *Thomas Button*, in 1611, who ſearched out the whole bay known by his name, and diſcovered a large continent, which he called, *New Wales*; by captain *William Baffin*, in 1612 and 1616; as alſo by ſeveral others, and particularly by captain *James*, in 1631, who publiſhed an account of his diſcoveries, by the ſpecial command of king *Charles* Iſt, and declared he was of opinion, that no paſſage could be found by

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the north-weſt; or that, if it was, it would prove of very little advantage.

HOWEVER, ſome public-ſpirited gentlemen, from cloſe obſervations, ſtill retained the opinion, that this paſſage was practicable, and to be diſcovered: but no one has diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much in this affair, as *Arthur Dobbs*, Eſq; the preſent governor of *North Carolina*; who, in 1730, drew up his reaſons for maintaining this opinion, and pointed out the many advantages which muſt ariſe to *Great-Britain*, from ſuch a diſcovery. After ſeveral difficulties, his *Britannic* majeſty was pleaſed to approve of the ſcheme communicated by Mr. *Dobbs*; and, in 1741, two veſſels were ſent out on this expedition, under the command of captain *Middleton*, who had been ſeveral years in the ſervice of the *Hudſon*'s *Bay* company: but, after proceeding to 66 deg. 44 min. of N. latitude, he returned without making any diſcovery.

THE principal reaſons which induced Mr. *Dobbs* to think there was a paſſage about the *Welcome*, on the north-weſt part of *Hudſon*'s *Bay*, near the latitude of 64 degrees, were, 1ſt. That, by all accounts, the coaſt in thoſe parts was broken land, or iſlands, with large openings between them. 2d. That there were ſtrong tides from the weſt and north-weſt; alſo that large black whales were ſeen there in plenty, which muſt come from ſome weſtern ocean, none of thoſe animals being found in any other part of the *Bay*. Mr. *Dobbs* had ſtill ſtrong reaſons to perſiſt in this opinion, notwithſtanding the unſucceſsful expedition made by captain *Middleton*; and, the probability of the paſſage being grounded on ſuch proofs, application was made

made to the parliament, to have the diſcovery encouraged by a reward from the public. Accordingly, a law paſſed for that purpoſe, in 1744; the preamble of which recited, that the diſcovering a north-weſt paſſage through *Hudſon*'s *Streight*, to the weſtern *American* ocean, would be of great benefit and advantage to the kingdom; and that it would be a great encouragement for adventurers to attempt the ſame, if a public reward was given to ſuch perſons as ſhould make a perfect diſcovery of the ſaid paſſage. It was therefore enacted, "That if any ſhips or veſſels, belonging to his majeſty's ſubjects, ſhould find out, and fall through, any paſſage by ſea, between *Hudſon*'s *Bay* and the weſtern ocean of *America*, the owners of ſuch ſhips, or veſſels, ſhould be intitled to receive, as a reward for ſuch diſcoveries, the ſum of twenty thouſand pounds."

THUS it may be ſeen, in how ſhort a ſpace of time, after the new world was diſcovered, the whole of it, from north to ſouth, was not only ſurveyed, but conquered and ſettled; whereby great improvements were made; though, it is highly probable, they would have been much greater, if the nobleſt provinces had fallen into any other hands but the *Spaniards*, whoſe indolence has been adequate to their pride, and their cruelty to their avarice.

HOWEVER, great parts of *America* are now under the dominion of other *European* powers, who would not ſtand idle ſpectators of the acquiſitions and conqueſts made by the *Spaniards*, without endeavouring to obtain ſome ſhare in the new diſcovered countries. The *Portugueſe* fell upon the ſouthern, and the *Engliſh* upon the northern parts of *America*;

by which the former got poſſeſſion of *Braſil*; while the latter made themſelves maſters of *Virginia*, *Maryland*, *Carolina*, and other provinces on the continent; as alſo of *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes*, *Antigua*, *Bermudas*, *Newfoundland*, and other iſlands. The *French* obtained a great tract of land along the river *Canada*, and ſome iſlands: the *Dutch* ſecured to themſelves a good ſettlement at *Curaſſow*, as alſo at *Surinam* in ſouth *America*: and the *Danes* took poſſeſſion of one of the *Caribbee* iſlands.

Spaniſh

Spanish AMERICA.

PART II.

A

NEW HISTORY OF AMERICA.

PART II.

CHAP. I.

The DESCRIPTION *of* CHILI.

SECTION I.

The general diviſion of AMERICA: *with an account of the poſſeſſions belonging to the* SPANIARDS, *and in what manner their provinces are governed.*

THIS new and extenſive world, is variouſly divided by geographers, but generally into continent and iſlands: though the former is commonly ſubdivided into north and ſouth *America*; which, ſometimes, are diſtinguiſhed by the particular names of *Mexico* and *Peru*: for theſe two large territo-

ries are almoſt cut aſunder by the ſea, on the eaſtern and weſtern ſide; being only joined by the iſthmus of *Darien*, about 54 miles broad; which ſeparates the north and ſouth ſeas, by a line drawn acroſs the iſthmus from *Porto Bello* to *Panama*; the one town lying in 9 degrees, 39 minutes; and the other in 9 degrees, of north latitude: ſo that theſe two continents, being ſubdivided into their ſeveral kingdoms, diſtricts, or provinces; ſouth *America* contains the eight provinces of *Terra Firma*, *Peru*, the land of the *Amazons*, *Braſil*, *Chili*, *Paraguay*, *Terra Magellanica*, and *Terra Antarctica*, or *Terra Auſtralis Incognita*. And north *America* compre-hends the five provinces of *Mexico*, or new *Spain*, new *Mexico*, or *Granada*, *Florida*, *Canada*, and *Terra Arctica*.

THE *American* iſlands are commonly divided into northern, middlemoſt, and ſouthern. The chief northern iſlands are *Newfoundland*, *Cape Breton*, and ſome others of inferior note. The middlemoſt are called by the general name of *Antilles*; which are divided into the greater or leſſer: *Cuba*, *Jamaica*, *Hiſpaniola*, and *Porto Rico*, being among the former; and thoſe called the *Caribbees*, the *Lucayes*, *Sotto Vento*, and *Bermudas*, being among the latter.

UPON the diſcovery of *America*, the *Spaniards* poſſeſſed themſelves of the moſt extenſive parts, and which abounded moſt in opulence: from whence they have annually derived ſuch immenſe treaſures, that it may well be ſaid, the kingdom of old *Spain* is entirely dependent on new *Spain*, for the ſupport of her finances; ſo as to owe all her former grandeur, and her preſent exiſtence, to the *American* colonies.

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THE *Spaniards* have all ſouth *America* on the continent, except *Braſil* on the weſtern ocean, which belongs to the *Portugueſe*; and alſo, except ſome parts either of *Chili*, or in the *Magellanic* land, and on the iſthmus of *Darien*, whoſe inhabitants they have not yet been able to bring under their ſubjection; on which account, they call them *Indios Bravos*, or brave *Indians*: to which may be added, the great country of the *Amazons*, and almoſt the whole country of *Guiana*, where the *French* and *Dutch* have ſome ſettlements; but where the *Spaniards* have no conſiderable poſſeſſions.

SPAIN is alſo in poſſeſſion of the richeſt and beſt part of north *America*, as far as *Miſſiſippi*, *California*, and *Florida*: beſides which, they have the iſlands of *Cuba*, *Porto Rico*, the ſouth part of *Hiſpaniola*, and ſome others of leſs conſideration.

BUT the *Spaniards* give the general name of *Peruviana* to all their poſſeſſions in ſouth *America*, where the ſeveral provinces are all under one governor, whoſe reſidence is at *Lima*, and whoſe ſtile is that of vice-roy and captain-general of *Peru*. However, ſome diſtinction has been made between theſe two offices; becauſe the commiſſions, ſalaries, and powers of both are different, though inveſted in the ſame perſon: yet, in *Mexico*, there are ſometimes a vice-roy, and a diſtinct captain-general.

As it appears almoſt an impoſſibility for one man to govern territories of ſuch great extent, and ſo far from each other; the vice-roy of *Peru* has his government divided into the ſeveral diſtricts of *Peru*, *Chili*, *Terra Firma*, and *La Plata*, or *Paraguay*: ſo that the vice-roy only enjoys a

pre-eminence, with a reſervation of ſome caſes in appeal, and the ſupreme direction of military affairs; for, in other reſpects, the governors of the other diſtricts ſeem independent of his authority.

THE government is divided into ſeveral audiences, which are ſomewhat ſimilar to the preſent parliaments of *France*; each of them conſiſting of a certain number of judges, appointed by his Catholic majeſty, with officers dependent upon them; and the whole is under the direction of a preſident, who is ſupreme throughout his juriſdiction. Every audience is divided into four chambers, or royal courts: the firſt is called the *Chamber of Juſtice*, where all things are tranſacted relating to the adminiſtration of public affairs: the next is the *Criminal Court*: the third is a kind of *Royal Exchequer*, for the management of all matters concerning the revenue: and the laſt is ſtiled the *Chamber of Treaſure*, or *Court of Aids*, which takes care of the royal funds, and whatever property appertains to the crown; becauſe the exchequer manages only the rents, duties, fines, and the current revenue.

THE vice-roy, and the preſidents, are uſually conſtituted for ſeven years; and the governors of ſome places of importance for five years: but the far greater part of the governors enjoy their authority only for three years, and owe their preferment entirely to the will and pleaſure of the vice-roys. The ſettled appointment of the vice-roy is forty thouſand pieces of eight, or about ſeven thouſand one hundred and fifty four pounds ſterling a year; excluſive of occaſional ſalaries and perquiſites; the former of which amount to double that ſum, and

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the latter exceed all computation. But when this high office is vacant, either by death or diſmiſſion, the government is adminiſtered by the royal audience, which is that of *Lima*.

SECTION II.

Containing a deſcription of the audience of Chili; *with its boundaries, the face of the country, the ſeaſons, airs, and climate. An account of the* Andes, *or* Cordillera *mountains; with their phænomenas, vulcanoes, ſprings, lakes, and rivers. And alſo, a ſhort account of the* Chileſian Indians; *their perſons, cuſtoms, and government.*

THOUGH *Mexico* was conquered in 1521, by *Cortez*, and *Peru* was reduced in 1532, by *Pizarro*; both of which were before the time that *Baldivia* made any ſettlement in *Chili*; it will be more eligible to trace the *Spaniſh* territories in *America*, according as they geographically appear upon the face of the maps, than to adhere to the method and time of conqueſt, which would neceſſarily bring confuſion upon the face of the hiſtory: therefore, it will be proper to begin with the province of *Chili*, which extends to the moſt ſouthern part of the continent; and ſo proceed down to the northern provinces, as far as *Florida*.

SOME writers, particularly *Ovalle*, extend this country ſouthwards, as far as the ſtreight of *Magellan*; and ſome of them alſo include the whole iſland of *Terra del Fogo*, as alſo part of *Patagonia*, in this diſtrict, making it run from 26 to 57 degrees

grees

grees of fouth latitude; but its real bounds are far from being ſo extenſive: for the proper diviſion of *Chili*, lies along the coaſt of the *South Sea*, between 26 and 45 degrees of fouth latitude, and between 47 and 54 degrees of weſt longitude: being bounded by *Peru* on the north, by the province of *La Plata* on the eaſt, by *Patagonia* on the ſouth, and by the *Pacific Ocean* on the weſt: ſo that it is about twelve hundred miles long, and ſix hundred broad in ſome places; for though the country, which is properly called *Chili*, is not above ſixty or ninety miles from the ſea, to the great chain of mountains called, by the *Spaniards*, *Cordillera*, or *Sierra Nevada de los Andes*; yet his Catholic majeſty, in the diviſion of the bounds of the ſeveral governments of *America*, added to *Chili* the large plains of *Cuyo* or *Chicuito*, which extend, on the other ſide of the mountains, the whole length of *Chili*, and are above twice as broad.

THE face of this country is beautiful, and the climate very temperate. The coaſt is a high bold ſhore, and the interior part of the country abounds with hills; but above them all, are the *Andes*, which are the higheſt mountains in the known world, extending the whole length of ſouth *America*, through the countries of *Peru* and *Chili*, parallel to, and at a little diſtance from the *Pacific Ocean*; being covered with ſnow in the warmeſt climate, and from thence called the *Sierras Nevada*, or *ſnowy mountains*.

As this country lies to the ſouth of the equator, the ſeaſons here are almoſt oppoſite to thoſe in the northern parts of the hemiſphere: for the ſpring in *Chili*, begins about the middle of *Auguſt*, and

continues

continues to the middle of *November*; when the ſummer begins, which laſts to the middle of *February*: then the autumn follows, and holds to the middle of *May*; being ſucceeded by winter, which bares all the trees of their leaves, and covers the earth with white froſt. There is little ſnow in the vallies, or low ground: but ſuch great quantities fall upon the mountains, as ſometimes to fill up all the hollow places to a great heighth; from whence it afterwards ſtreams out, or ſupplies many ſprings and rivers, which give ſuch fertility to the plains and vallies, as to make them produce infinite crops of all ſorts in their proper ſeaſons.

THE air is very temperate in ſummer; though it lies ſo near the torrid zone: for it is covered on the eaſt by the *Andes*, which are all prodigiouſly elevated: while, on the weſt, it receives the freſh and cooling breezes from the ſea. Beſides, the tides greatly contribute towards refreſhing the air; becauſe they penetrate as far as the foot of the mountains: ſo that neither the heat, in ſummer, is intenſe; nor the cold, in winter, ſevere; eſpecially from about the 34th degree: for which reaſon, the inhabitants of the city of *Conception*, who lie in that ſituation, have the ſame covering for their beds both in winter and ſummer. But, in ſome other parts, it is as cold as moſt places in *Europe*; which proceeds chiefly from ſome of the neighbouring mountains, that ſend out ſuch ſharp and piercing winds, as are ſometimes intolerable: therefore, the ſea-coaſt is more temperate and mild; though more expoſed to vehement ſtorms than the inland parts, becauſe the ſtorms are almoſt ſpent before they arrive far up the country. Thunder is ſometimes heard;

heard; but it is at ſo great a diſtance, up in the mountains, that the country is free from lightening. There is no hail in ſpring or ſummer; nor are there ſo many cloudy days in winter as in other parts; but generally, after the rain has continued two or three days, the ſky clears up with great ſerenity: for, as ſoon as the north-wind ceaſes, the ſouth-wind ſucceeds, and in a few hours drives away the rain: or, if it happens during the night, the dew falls, and the ſun riſes with additional luſtre. Some trees loſe their leaves in winter, and others preſerve a perennial verdure: for, though they are covered with ice and ſnow, the cold is ſo far from injuring them, that, when the ſun diſſolves the froſt, they look more green and beautiful.

THE country of *Chili* has ſtill another advantage, which conſiſts in its being free from poiſonous creatures; ſuch as vipers, ſnakes, ſcorpions, and toads: nor are there any tygers, panthers, or other rapacious animals, except ſome lions of a ſmall kind, which ſometimes prey upon flocks of ſheep, or herds of goats; but always ſhun the appearance of men, not only in cultivated lands, but in woods and ſolitudes.

ALL this muſt be underſtood of the countries which lie to the weſt of the *Andes*: for what is beyond thoſe mountains, as the land of *Cuyo*, *Tucuman*, and *Buenos Ayres*, though ſituated in the ſame latitude with *Chili*, are very different from it in climate. In thoſe parts it freezes with ſuch ſeverity, that the cattle will periſh with cold, if they are left abroad. There is no rain all the winter; for the ſun ſhines ſo bright, and clear, that no cloud is to be ſeen: but, there is ſuch abundance of rain in the ſpring,

that

that it would overflow the whole country, if it was to continue as long as in *Chili*: at which time, ſome thunder-ſtones fall, as alſo hail-ſtones of an incredible ſize, according to the *Spaniſh* writers, particularly *Ovalle*, who aſſerts that he has ſeen ſome of them as big as the eggs of oſtriches; though, if he had contented himſelf with a much ſmaller dimenſion, he would have obtained much greater credit. All theſe ſtorms, and varieties of weather, form themſelves in the high mountains, which are a kind of wall to the province of *Chili*; and they never come ſo far down as to invade its territories, but ſtop at them as at a barricado: for, in *Chili*, the weather is always conſtant, without ſudden alterations all the ſpring, ſummer, and autumn; though, in winter, there are degrees of heat and cold, as there is a difference in the length or ſhortneſs of the days, according to the degrees of the latitude, and courſe of the ſun, which cauſes the ſame variation as in *Europe*, except that it is in oppoſite months: from whence, *Ovalle* ſays, there muſt be a great reſemblance between the animals and other productions of *Chili*, and thoſe of *Europe*; as alſo, that there is little difference between their climates and ſoils. Therefore, he concludes, it is very remarkable, that, in ſuch variety of diſcoveries made in *America*, none is ſo conformable in every thing with the *European* conſtitution, as this tract of *Chili*: for, in moſt of the places between the tropics, as *Braſil*, *Carthagena*, *Panama*, *Porto-Bello*, and thoſe coaſts in that ſituation, the heats are not only violent, but continue all the year: and, in ſome other places, ſuch as *Potoſi*, and the mountains of *Peru*, the cold is as exceſſive: in ſome

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they have a winter without rain, and have their rain in ſummer when the heat is greateſt; others have neither wine, oil, or wheat, of their own product; or, if there are ſome who have theſe productions, they are incapable of bearing the other fruits of *Europe*: but *Chili* has its four periodical ſeaſons of ſpring, ſummer, autumn, and winter, like *Europe*; and the product of *Europe* agrees with the ſoil of *Chili*.

THE heavens and ſtars of *Chili* are remarkable for their clearneſs and beauty. If the ſtars of the arctic pole, appear with more magnitude than thoſe of the antarctic; yet, as to their ſplendor, their numbers, the light they afford, and the purity of the heavens where they are, the advantage is on the ſide of the antarctic; which is owing to the temperature of the climate: for, as the country of *Chili* inclines to dryneſs, rather than humidity, the ſun raiſes few vapours; therefore, the air is clearer, and the brightneſs of the ſtars more conſpicuous. This alſo occaſions the ſun to riſe and ſet in ſo glorious and reſplendent a manner; though, on the other ſide of the *Andes*, the radiant beauty of its beams are clouded and enfeebled by the vapours of the earth. But the experience of this is ſtill more admirable to thoſe who ſail from *Peru* for *Chili*; who are immediately ſenſible when they come to the heighth of *Chili*, by the azure beauty of the horizon, which they perceive diſengaged from clouds, gilded and glorious; with its luſtre increaſing upon them every day, as they gain more heighth towards the pole. Though, on the contrary, when they ſail for the line, from *Chili*, the nearer they approach to the tropic, that light and ſplendor grows duller and weaker.

PETER

PETER THEODORE, a ſkilful navigator, and a judicious aſtronomer, ſays, there are fourteen conſtellations in the hemiſphere of *Chili*: the *Cameleon*, containing ten ſtars; the *Indian Aſpic*, four; the *Flying Fiſh*, ſeven; the *Dorado Fiſh*, five; the *Hydra*, fifteen; the *Toncan*, eight; the *Phœnix*, fourteen; the *Crane*, thirteen; *Noah*'s *Dove*, eleven; the *Indian Sagittary*, twelve; the *Peacock*, eleven; the *Bird of Paradiſe*, or *Maaucodiata*, twelve; the *Triangle*, five; and the *Cruzero*, four. The *Cruzero* is the guide for mariners who ſail into the *South-Sea*; as the *Cynoſura* is to thoſe who navigate the north ſea; but it is thirty degrees from the pole: for, as there are no ſtars of that magnitude near the pole, the *Cruzero* is made uſe of for that effect, though not for the needle; becauſe, *Ovalle* ſays, the needle in either ſea, whether ſouth or north latitude, always turns to the north; notwithſtanding, when mariners are in the *South Sea*, the whole globe of the earth, or much the greateſt part of it, is between them and the north, according to the circle made by the *Cruzero*.

THE *Andes*, or *Cordillera* of *Chili*, are one of the greateſt prodigies of nature; being a chain of high mountains, about four thouſand five hundred miles long, and one hundred and twenty miles broad; with many intermediate vallies, which are habitable as far as the tropics, but not beyond them, becauſe of the perpetual ſnows with which they are always covered. The aſcent is ſo prodigious, that three or four days muſt be ſpent in arriving to the top of them, and as many more in the deſcent; that is, what may be properly called, from and to the bottom of the mountain: for, otherwiſe, it may

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be affirmed, that paſſengers begin to mount even from the ſea-ſide; becauſe the whole way is one extended ſhelving coaſt; on which account, the rivers run with ſuch impetuoſity, that their ſtreams are like mill-ſtreams, eſpecially near their ſources.

ANTONIO de HERRERA ſays, there are two chains of mountains in the *Andes*; one being much lower than the other, covered with ſtately woods and beautiful gröves; which is owing to the fine temperature of the air: but the cold is ſo ſevere upon the higher, that the mountains are bare even of buſhes, without graſs, or any kind of plant upon them; though there are ſeveral animals on both mountains.

The *Incas* of *Peru* cauſed two grand highways to be cut through the *Andes*; one of them 2700 miles in length from *Poſto* to *Chili*, and twenty-five feet broad; being well paved, and having noble buildings at the diſtance of every twelve miles; ſome of which are ſtill exiſting; for there are places, called *Tambos*, ſomewhat like *European* inns, where every thing neceſſary is to be found by travellers. The other way went by the plain, at the foot of the mountains; being alſo twenty-five feet broad, with the ſame proportion of buildings; having ſtreams and rivulets, brought there by art, for the refreſhment and recreation of travellers. But theſe two highways are united when they come near to *Chili*, where there are nothing but continual mountains, ſerving for walls and fortifications, on each ſide, to one which riſes in the middle infinitely higher than the reſt, and is, properly called, the *Cordillera*.

WHEN travellers aſcend the higheſt point of the mountains, they feel ſo piercing and ſubtile an air, that

that it is with much difficulty they can breathe. *Herrera* obſerves, that thoſe who paſs the *Andes* in *Peru*, are greatly afflicted with vomitings: but *Ovalle* aſſerts, it is otherwiſe about *Chili*; where travellers are never troubled with vomitings: though, he ſays, they go through theſe mountains as if they were treading upon clouds; ſometimes ſeeing the vallies without any oppoſition to their ſight; and, when they look up, being unable to ſee the heavens for clouds: but, as ſoon as they are aſcended to the higheſt part of the mountain, they can`no longer perceive the earth for the clouds beneath them; the heavens being one clear and unclouded expanſe, through which the ſun darts out his glorious effulgence.

THE *Iris*, or *Rainbow*, which, in the vallies, is ſeen croſſing the heavens, from this height is extended under the feet of travellers: nor is it leſs admirable, while they travel over theſe hills, and perceive tempeſts and ſtorms falling into the vallies at a diſtance, that the ſerenity over their heads is ſo great, that no cloud is to be ſeen to diſcompoſe the beautiful proſpect.

THERE are ſixteen vulcanoes in this chain of mountains; which, at ſeveral times, have opened with ſuch horrible exploſions, as to cauſe very terrible and aſtoniſhing effects to all the circumjacent countries. The firſt of theſe vulcanoes, is called, the vulcano of *Copiapo*, being in about 26 degrees 20 minutes of ſouth latitude; in 30 degrees, is that of *Coquimbo*; in $31\frac{1}{2}$, that of *Ligua*; in 35, that of *Peteroa*; in 36, that of *Chillan*; in $36\frac{1}{2}$, that of *Antoco*; in $37\frac{1}{2}$, is that of *Notuco*; in 39, that of *Villarica*; in 40, is that of *Oſorno*; about $\frac{1}{2}$ a deg.

farther, is that of *Chuanauca*; in 42 deg. $\frac{1}{4}$, is that of *Quechucabi*; one, called *Minchimavida*, in 44; and, in 46, that of *Saint Clement*. Theſe are the known vulcanoes of *Chili*; though there may be others which extend as far as *Terra del Fogo*. They are repreſented to be as terrible as the eruptions of *Mount Etna* in *Sicily*, or *Mount Veſuvius* in *Naples*: however, the deſolation which they cauſe, is attended with one happy conſequence; for the earthquakes in *Chili* have always been conſiderably leſs than thoſe in *Peru*; becauſe *Chili* has more vents for the exhalations of combuſtible vapours.

THE difference which may be obſerved in paſſing the *Andes*, on the eaſt and weſtern ſide of the mountains, make them appear as if they were in very remote regions from each other: for, on the ſummit of the mountains, both horizons may be diſcovered; that towards the eaſt, being enveloped with ſuch thick vapours, as prevent the flow of light, and overſhadow all the country: while the heavens are ſo bright and placid towards the weſt, as to give infinite pleaſure to the eye of the beholder. There is alſo a difference in the trees, plants, and animals, on each ſide of the mountains. In going down to the eaſtward, the fountains and rivers are few and muddy; the face of the land melancholy; and no tree, or verdure, to recreate the ſight, unleſs in thoſe parts where the heats begin to grow intolerable: but, as ſoon as travellers deſcend to the weſtward, they meet with lovely ſprings, umbrageous trees, fragrant groves, and pleaſant vallies: the mildneſs of the ſea air is felt from the foot of the mountains; the harmony of the birds is delightful to the ears, and many other objects charming to

the eye. On the eaſt ſide, there are no cultivated lands, nor any paſture for the feeding of flocks: but on the weſt ſide of the mountains, the ſprings fertilize the fields below, keeping the earth freſh and green all the year; nouriſhing ſuch variety of trees, and ſo admirably diſpoſed, that they appear like a beautiful plantation, many of them being loaded with the fruits of the country, ſome of which are delicious to eat, and others afford excellent liquors for the *Indians*: the vallies are full of odoriferous flowers, and phyſical plants; as alſo of olives, almonds, and all ſorts of fruit trees: the plains have flouriſhing vineyards, which make elegant wines; and the little hills afford the pureſt herbage.

THESE mountains are ſuppoſed to be very rich in mines; but two cauſes may be aſſigned, why theſe riches are not diſcovered: the firſt, being that general and inviolable maxim among the *Indians*, of concealing all their treaſures from any other nations; for if any one among them, either out of intereſt, negligence, or a motive of conveniency, ſhould diſcover any thing of this kind, his death would be inevitable, and no power on earth could ſave him from the revenge of his countrymen. The other reaſon for not ſeeking after theſe mines, is, the great plenty which *Chili* affords of all the neceſſaries for life: ſo that hunger, which is the prompter of avaricious deſires, has no inducement to run any perilous hazards, or attempt to penetrate through extenſive deſarts, in ſearch of hidden treaſures; eſpecially, as ſuch quantities of gold are found in the vallies and rivers, as to prevent the inhabitants from working the mines in the low

countries: but, if the *Spaniſh* coloniſts ſhould increaſe in this country, and raiſe the price of proviſions, they might be more ingenious and induſtrious; which would oblige them to ſeek for ſuſtenance under ground, from the mines and treaſures concealed in the bowels of theſe mountains.

THE *Andes* begin to be covered with ſnow, as ſoon as the firſt rains of the winter deſcend, which happens about the middle of *May*; and the mountains are ſhut up by it, five or ſix months in the year; ſo that they are impaſſable till *October* or *November*: for, even in the middle of ſummer, when travellers are almoſt fainting with exceſſive perſpiration at the bottom of the mountains; they are obliged to put on double cloathing, when they arrive near the ſummit; as alſo to fortify the ſtomach with warm things, to withſtand the ſharpneſs of the cold, and the ſubtileneſs of the air, which penetrates the body if it is not well defended. It is from this ſeverity of cold in the mountains, that the country has received its name; for, in the language of the *Indian* natives, *Chili* ſignifies *Cold*: but it is neceſſary to obſerve, that, when authors ſpeak of the exceſſive coldneſs of the country, they mean only theſe mountainous parts, whereby the truth of what hiſtorians relate differently, may be reconciled; becauſe, as moſt of them were unacquainted with the country, they made no diſtinction between the mountains and the plains; the former having all the bad effects of cold, which has been related of them, particularly the *Pampas* of *Cuyo* and *Tucuman*, on the eaſt ſide of the *Andes*; though the moiſture of the ſea-air tempers the ſharpneſs of the blaſts from the mountains, as they

ruſh

ruſh upon the vales, rendering the plains both fertile and delightful.

THERE are frightful precipices, and deep rivers, at the ſides of the narrow paſſes in the *Andes*: which frequently occaſion the loſs of mules and travellers. The ſtreams run with ſuch violence, and ſo far below the roads, that they bring a dizzineſs in the head by looking at them: the aſcents and deſcents are ſo ſteep, that they are difficult to paſs on foot; but the difficulty of the way is ſomewhat alleviated by the beautiful caſcades, which the water forms in the rocks and mountains: beſides, the water naturally ſprings up to a great height in ſome of the vallies, like artificial fountains, among odoriferous plants, and beautiful flowers, which yield a delightful proſpect. All theſe ſprings and ſtreams are ſo very cool, that a man cannot drink above two or three ſips at once, nor hold his hand in them above a minute: but, in ſome places, there are hot ſprings, which leave a green tincture in the channel where they paſs, and are of ſervice in ſeveral diſtempers.

THERE are numerous ſprings, lakes, and rivers, throughout the whole extent of the *Andes*: but the moſt conſiderable of the freſh-water lakes, are in the plains and vallies, ſuch as thoſe of *Tagatagua*, near *St. Jago*; and that of *Pũren*, in which the *Chileſians* had an impregnable fortreſs, from whence they were never expelled by the *Spaniards*. There are alſo ſalt-water lakes, which have a communication with the ſea, ſome part of the year: for, in ſtormy weather, the ſea forces a way into them, and leaves them full of fiſh; but the communication of the ſea is ſtopt in *January*, when

the hot weather comes on, which congeals the water, and leaves a cruſt of fine white ſalt, about a foot thick on the ſurface.

THERE are ſeveral ſalutary fountains alſo in the plains and vallies of *Chili*; particularly, one that riſes at the foot of the vulcano of *Villarica*, and runs into an adjacent lake: beſides two more, which riſe near each other, and form the river *Chico*; one of them being hot, and the other cold. The baths of *Rancagua*, near *St. Jago*, are celebrated for the cure of many diſtempers: thoſe of *Mayten*, *Mapocho*, and *Conſtially*, are reputed to have the ſame healing virtue: but thoſe fountains are beſt which are at the greateſt diſtance from the *Andes*.

IT is obſerved, that the ſprings and rivers riſe more in the lowlands of *Chili*, than in thoſe of *Peru*. There are upwards of fifty rivers, which riſe in the *Andes*, and run through *Chili*, into the *South Sea*; being joined by many other leſſer ſtreams, which fall into them in their courſe: but none of them are navigable, for veſſels of any conſiderable burthen, far beyond their mouths; becauſe they run only a courſe of about 90 miles from their ſources: all theſe rivers which flow from the *Andes* weſtward, and fall into the *South Sea*, being rapid torrents, generally occaſioned by the melting of the ſnows, and the declivity of the ground. One of theſe rivers, called *Mendoca*, which falls from the eaſtern ſide towards *Cuyo*, has a natural bridge of rocks over it, broad enough for 3 or 4 carts to paſs abreaſt: from whoſe vault ſeveral pieces of ſtone are ſeen to hang, reſembling ſalt; which congeal like icicles, as the water drops from the rock, and are formed into ſeveral ſhapes and colours.

THE

THE other principal rivers are as follow. 1. The *Salada*, or *River of Salt*, which rises on the confines of *Peru*, and falls into the *South Sea*, in about twenty-six degrees of south latitude; whose waters are too salt to be drank. 2. The *Copiapo*, which rises in 26 degrees and a half of south latitude, and runs about sixty miles from east to west; forming a bay, and a harbour, at its entrance into the sea. 3. The *Guasco*, which rises in 28 degrees of south latitude, and also makes a good harbour. 4. The *Coquimbo*, which discharges itself into the sea, in about 30 degrees of south latitude, where it forms a noble bay and port, with beautiful trees on the banks, and particularly myrtles, which make a fine and pleasant grove. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. The *Serena*, *Tongoy*, *Limachi*, *Chuapa*, *Longotoma*, and *La Ligua*. 11. The *Aconcagua*, a large deep river, which runs through several fruitful vallies, and falls into the sea, in about 32 degrees and a half. 12. The *Maypo*, which rises in about 33 degrees of south latitude, and runs with such rapidity as to admit only one bridge to be made over it of cables: it enters the sea with so much force, that its waters form a circle, and are distinguished a great way: it is brackish, but full of excellent trout; and the sheep which feed on its banks, afford mutton of a delicate taste. 13, 14, 15, 16. The *St. Jago*, or *Mapocho*, the *Poangue*, *Colina*, and *Lampa*, are rivers which fall into the *Maypo*. The *St. Jago* is divided into several streams, to water the district of the same name, which it sometimes overflows. The waters of the *Poangue* are extraordinary clear and sweet; flowing through veins of metal, which very much help digestion; and it runs

ſeveral leagues under ground, fertilizing the land about it, ſo as to produce excellent corn, and fine melons. The *Colina* and *Lampa*, unite together, at about forty miles diſtance from their ſources, and form the remarkable lake of *Cudogues*; which is about two leagues in length, and ſo deep that great veſſels may ſail in it: the banks are covered with trees, that have a verdure all the year round: and it abounds with trouts and ſmelts, which are a great conveniency to the city of *St. Jago*. 17. The *Rapel*, is nothing inferior to the *Maypo*, and receives ſeveral other rapid ſtreams, as the *Cachapoal*, *Tinguiritica*, *Malloa*, and *Chimbarongo*; after which, it falls into the ſea, in about 34 degrees of ſouth lat. 18. The *Lora*, which riſes in 34 deg. and three quarters; receiving the ſtreams of *Tono*, *Peteroa*, and *Mataquito*. 19. The *Maule*, a great river, which riſes in 35 degrees, 20 minutes, and bounds the juriſdiction of *St. Jago*: it receives the *Clear River*, and the *Cauquenes*: having a dock for building of ſhips, near its mouth; and a ferry belonging to the king, for the convenience of paſſengers. 20. The *Itata*, a noble river, which enters the ſea, in about 36 degrees 10 minutes of ſouth latitude; being three times as large, and as deep as the *Maule*: about the middle of its courſe, it is joined by the furious torrent of the *Nuble*; and in moſt places it is paſſed upon rafts, but in ſome it is fordable. 21. The *Andalien*, a ſlow and ſilent river, which enters the pleaſant and ſpacious bay of the *Conception*, in about 36 degrees and three quarters. There is alſo another ſmall river that runs through the middle of the city of *Conception*; a little above which, it falls from a high rock, giving the inhabitants an opportunity of

of forming all ſorts of water-works from it, among pleaſant groves of laurels, myrtle, and other odoriferous plants. 22. The *Biobio*, which is the largeſt river in *Chili*, and enters the ſea, in 37 degrees of latitude; being between two and three miles over at its mouth: its waters run through veins of gold, and fields of *Sarſaparilla*, which make them very wholſome, and efficacious in ſeveral diſtempers: it is alſo the boundary between the *Indians*, who are friends to the *Spaniards*, and thoſe who are their enemies; for the latter make frequent incurſions upon the former; though the river ſwells ſo much in the winter, that it becomes impaſſable, and occaſions a ceſſation of arms on both ſides. 23, 24, 25, 26. The *Colcura*, *Arauco*, *Labapi*, and *Lebo*; which empty themſelves between 37 and 38 degrees: as alſo the *Coypo*, or *Ralemo*, which reaches the ſea in 38 degrees. 27. The *Imperial*, or *Cauten*, which receives the *Cururava*, the *Eyoco*, and the *Ladies River*; falling into the ſea in 38 degrees and 40 min. of ſouth latitude. 28. The *Tolten*, about 25 miles from the river *Imperial*, is deep enough for great ſhips where it enters the ſea. 29. The *Queulen*, which is capable of ſmall barks, and diſembogues itſelf about 24 miles from the *Tolten*. 30. The *Valdivia*, or *Baldivia*, which diſcharges itſelf into the ocean in about 39 degrees and 40 minutes of ſouth latitude; being navigable three leagues from the ſea. 31. The *Chalbin*, which is deep, and capable of great veſſels. Ten others called the *Chico*, *Ballena*, *Rabudos*, *Coronado*, *De la Eſperanza*, *Rioſinfundo*, the *Gallegos*, the *Martyrs*, the *Apoſtles*, and the *Giants*. 42. *De la Campana*. 43. and 44. *De los Paxaros*,

or

or the *River of Birds*; and *St. Victorian*. But there are ſeveral other rivers which run among the iſlands, or empty themſelves into the ſtreights of *Magellan*.

ALL theſe rivers run from eaſt to weſt, and diſcharge themſelves into the *South-Sea*: but thoſe which run from the oppoſite parts of the *Andes*, towards the north ſea, are not ſo well known; becauſe thoſe parts are leſs inhabited, or not ſo much frequented by *Europeans*: the moſt remarkable being thoſe of *St. John*, and of *Mendoca*; which are large rivers, and empty themſelves into the lake of *Guanacache*.

THE *Chileſians* are of the middle ſize, well-proportioned, and ſtrong limbed; of a tawny complexion, inclining to a copper-colour, like all the natives both of ſouth and north *America*: their hair is black, and exceeding harſh; their features are tolerably good; their teeth white, and ſound; but their countenance ſeems ſomewhat dejected. They follow the general practice of the *Americans*, in pulling the hair off their chins, and other parts of their bodies, as ſoon as it appears, with tweezers, or nippers, made of ſhells. Their women are moderately tall, ſlender, and well-ſhaped; who braid and curl their hair frequently, letting it grow to an extraordinary length. But the *Chileſians*, who inhabit the province of *Cuyo*, and the plains of *Pampas*, on the eaſtern ſide of the *Andes*, are people of a larger ſtature than thoſe of *Chili*; proper, and of a darker complexion; the women painting their faces, or ſome part of them, with a green colour.

THE firſt account that the *Spaniards* received of *Chili*, was from the *Peruvians*; who ſubdued the northern

northern part of that province, in the reign of their tenth *Inca*, *Yupanqui*: but afterwards met with ſuch a powerful oppoſition from the confederated *Chileſians*, that the *Incas* determined to make the river *Maule* the utmoſt bounds of their empire; and accordingly fortified the banks of it againſt the invaſions of the barbarians, as they called the *Chileſians*, who were then very uncivilized, worſhipped many idols, and had only the patriarchal form of government. Every tribe, or family, was governed by its reſpective head, or chief; who was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon, or neareſt relation, on his deceaſe: but, when they were invaded, or had wars with their neighbours, they elected ſome general, who was remarkable for his military ſkill and bravery. Though the *Chileſians*, who inhabited that part of the country which was conquered by the *Incas*, were obliged to conform themſelves to the religion and manners of the *Peruvians*; their emperors making no difference between them and the reſt of their ſubjects.

SECTION

SECTION III.

The first gro: *invaſion of* Chili *by Don* Diego de Alma- *his expedition; and death. The ſecond invaſion, under Don* Pedro Baldivia: *the ſettlements which he eſtabliſhed: his war with the* Indians; *and death. The conduct of* Francis de Velagra *againſt* Caupolican *the* Indian *general. The war undertaken by Don* Garcia Hurtado de Mendoca, *againſt the* Indians; *and the death of* Caupolican. *In what manner the* Spaniards *eſtabliſhed themſelves in* Chili, *and made peace with the* Indians. *How the* Dutch *and* Engliſh *attempted to ſettle in* Chili. *Reflections on the peace between the* Spaniards *and* Indians. *The number of inhabitants in* Chili: *and ſome farther account of the* Indians.

THIS country was firſt diſcovered by Don *Diego de Almagro*; who began the conqueſt of it about the year 1535: but the *Spaniards* were never able to bring it entirely under their ſubjection: for there are ſeveral *Indian* nations, who have made the *Spaniards* ſenſible they are to be dreaded; eſpecially ſince the middle of the laſt century.

DIEGO de ALMAGRO had a grant, from his Catholic majeſty, of all the country between *Las Chincas* in *Peru*, and the ſtreights of *Magellan*; including half *Peru*, and all *Chili*, which the *Spaniards* then called the new kingdom of *Toledo*. *Almagro* was one of the three adventurers, with *Pizarro*, and *Lugne*, who undertook the conqueſt of *Peru*, after *Peter de Arias* had abandoned his enterprize, in 1525: he was of ſuch mean extraction that it was never

never known who was his father : but he was valiant, ſincere, and merciful ; though ſomewhat haughty, and vain-glorious. His co-adventurer *Pizarro*, had been very ſucceſsful in *Peru*, where he made the emperor *Atabalippa* priſoner, and put him to death : but, when *Almagro* received the above-mentioned grant, he inſiſted that the government of *Cuſco*, the capital of *Peru*, was under his juriſdiction, and ſet out to take poſſeſſion of it ; though he deſiſted from that attempt, and turned his arms towards *Chili* ; for which purpoſe, he amaſſed a prodigious treaſure, and diſtributed it among his men, to buy horſes and arms ; promiſing, that what they conquered ſhould be equally divided among the conquerors.

ALMAGRO had an army of 200 *Spaniſh* horſe, 300 *Spaniſh* foot, and a great number of *Indians*, who followed one of their princes ; beſides a multitude of ſlaves, with which he entered *Chili* ; but met with a brave oppoſition from the natives ; who, at firſt, were much intimidated at the *Spaniſh* horſes ; though, at laſt, after they had killed ſome of them in an engagement, they took a ſolemn oath, by the great ſun, either to die, or kill them all. The *Spaniards* marched through a deſart and barren country, ſuffering great diſtreſs for want of proviſions ; but their affliction was ſo much increaſed in paſſing the *Andes*, that they loſt 150 men and 30 horſes, beſides 10,000 *Indians*, which came from *Peru*. However, *Almagro* deſcended into the valley of *Copiapo*, where he found an opportunity of rendering himſelf popular among the *Chileſians*, by putting an uſurper to death, who had deprived a young prince of his government,

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and oppreſſed his ſubjects. He then proceeded to the *Promocas*, a nation who inhabited the banks of the river *Maule*, where they bravely oppoſed him, and killed abundance of his men; but were obliged to give way, at laſt, to his horſe and artillery: ſo that, in all probability, *Almagro* would have conquered the whole kingdom in a few years, if he had not returned to *Peru*, in 1537, to take poſſeſſion of *Cuſco*, by virtue of a royal patent, which he received by a meſſenger ſent on purpoſe. This put a ſtop to the *Spaniſh* conqueſts in *Chili*, for that time; and proved fatal to *Almagro*, who took *Cuſco* by force; but was afterwards defeated, and took priſoner by *Pizarro*, who put him to death as a criminal; which was afterwards revenged by the ſon and friends of *Almagro*, who aſſaſſinated *Pizarro*; though the aſſaſſins were puniſhed for the murder.

THE next *Spaniſh* general who entered *Chili*, was Don *Pedro Baldivia*, or *Valdivia*: he had borne arms in *Italy*, and *Peru*, with reputation; and was therefore thought a fit perſon to finiſh this conqueſt; for which he obtained a permiſſion, in 1539, from *Francis Pizarro*, and the vice-roy of *Peru*. He was a whole year in preparing for this expedition, and began it in 1540, with a conſiderable army of *Spaniards* and *Indians*; who, after great difficulties, arrived in the valley of *Copiapo*. The firſt oppoſition that was ſhewn to *Baldivia*, was at *Quillota*, where the *Indians* ſkirmiſhed with him continually, but were incapable of retarding his progreſs: ſo that he advanced as far as *St. Jago*, where he erected a fort, and founded the town of that name, as a place of defence againſt the *Indians*, who

who killed ſo many of his men, that they talked of returning again to *Peru*: but *Baldivia* eaſily compoſed the mutiny, by putting his men in hopes of acquiring immenſe ſtores of gold; which they ſoon diſcovered at the mines of *Quillota*, where he erected another fort to protect his workmen. He then ſent for more aſſiſtance from *Peru*, which he received, when he had ſcarce men ſufficient to defend his forts: though, as ſoon as they arrived, he purſued his conqueſts further, particularly againſt the *Promocas*, with whom he had ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, which obliged him to ſend for further aſſiſtance from *Peru*.

BALDIVIA, in the mean time, founded the city of *Coquimbo*, and fortified it for the ſecurity of his men: but, inſtead of receiving any ſupplies from *Peru*, his aſſiſtance was deſired there by the governor, againſt whom one of the brothers of *Pizarro* had revolted: ſo that *Baldivia* was obliged to return to *Peru*, where, by his valour, and chiefly by his conduct, *Pizarro* was defeated, and put to death with his adherents.

DURING the abſence of *Baldivia* from *Chili*, he left *Francis de Velagra*, or *Villagra*, for his lieutenant, who had a miſunderſtanding with *Pedro Sanchez de Hoz*, to whom his Catholic majeſty had granted the government of the further part of *Peru* and *Chili*; but *Velagra* made him priſoner, and beheaded him: though it is uncertain, whether this was done by the order of *Baldivia*, who appeared very well ſatisfied with his death; becauſe this rival had great pretenſions to moſt of his conqueſts, and looked upon *Baldivia* only as an uſurper.

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WHILE the *Spaniards* were thus engaged in civil diſſentions, both in *Peru* and *Chili*, the *Chileſians* made their advantage of them, by ſurprizing the *Spaniſh* garriſons of *Copiapo* and *Coquimbo*, putting them to the ſword, and demoliſhing both the towns: it being with difficulty that *Velagra* could defend himſelf, even in *St. Jago*, till the return of *Baldivia*, who brought a good army with him from *Peru*, retrieved his affairs, drove the *Indians* from the vallies of *Copiapo* and *Coquimbo* again, and rebuilt the towns which they had deſtroyed. After this, he ſent a detachment under *Francis Aquerro*, who paſſed the *Cordillera*, and founded the towns of *Diaguitas* and *Jures*, on the other ſide of thoſe mountains; while *Baldivia* himſelf marched againſt the *Promocas*, and founded the city of *Conception* in 1550; where he alſo erected a fort, and ſent out detachments to make further diſcoveries. He then proceeded ſouthward, in the beginning of 1551, with the main body of his army, and ſubdued ſuch of the natives as made any oppoſition: but he was obliged to found the cities of *Imperial*, *Baldivia*, and *Villa Rica*, to keep the *Indians* in obedience.

BALDIVIA loſt abundance of men in this expedition, and underwent a great deal of miſery and fatigue: beſides, he built ſeveral forts, which he garriſoned, to preſerve his new conqueſts; and applied himſelf to the working of the gold mines, in hopes of accumulating a great treaſure, which he intended to carry over to *Spain*; not doubting, by thus adding the weight of his gold to his merit, but he ſhould readily obtain ſuch titles of honour, as that court had beſtowed upon other conquerors,

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and to return with ſuch a force, as might enable him to enlarge his conqueſts. For this purpoſe, he employed twenty thouſand *Indians*, in digging the mines of *Quilacoya* and *Angol*, which had never been opened before, and thereby enriched both himſelf and his ſoldiers; who afterwards grew ſo indolent and luxurious, as to encourage the *Indians* to a revolt, for recovering the liberty of their country.

THE *Chileſians* had never been conquered by the *Spaniards* in ſo many encounters, if they had not been terrified and aſtoniſhed at the exploſion of the artillery, and the firing of the ſmall arms; which, at firſt, the *Indians* imagined to be real thunder and lightening; as alſo, that the *Spaniards* were ſomewhat more than human. But the *Chileſians* were ſoon undeceived, and found their enemies to be only men like themſelves: therefore, they were determined to make another attempt for the recovery of their liberties; being perſuaded, that, by their numbers and courage, they ſhould be able to expel the invaders out of their territories. Nor was this reſolution founded in temerity; for the *Spaniards*, without conſidering that the dread of their arms and their horſes was much abated, grew remiſs and negligent in their military diſcipline, attending more to the acquiſition of riches, than the ſecurity of their conqueſts: while they daily exaſperated the *Indians*, by compelling them to dig in the mines; and, by aſſembling ſo many of them together for that laborious employment, they gave the *Indians* an opportunity of forming a conſpiracy, and executing it with better ſucceſs, than they

could have done, if they had remained ſeparated in their reſpective villages.

THE *Araucans*, or *Arauſanos*, were the braveſt nation among the *Chileſians*, and had oppoſed the *Spaniards* with the greateſt ſucceſs, but were obliged to ſubmit: when *Baldivia* reſerved their country for himſelf, in the diſtribution of the lands, and erected three caſtles for the defence of theſe poſſeſſions. He then marched farther ſouthward, where he diſcovered ſo many rich mines, that he employed fifty thouſand *Indians* in working them; and ſpent ſo much time in accumulating treaſure, that the *Araucans* took advantage of his abſence, and engaged the whole country in a conſpiracy againſt the *Spaniards*.

THE confederate caziques were, *Tucapel*, who brought 3000 men: *Angol*, 4000: *Cayocupil*, had 3000, from the *Cordillera*: *Millarapue*, 5000: *Paicavi*, 3000: *Lemoleno*, 6000: *Mareguano*, *Gualemo*, and *Leucopie*, each 3000: *Elicuera*, 6000: *Ongolmo*, 4000: *Puren*, 6000: *Lyncoyce*, 7000: *Peteguelen*, 6000: *Thome*, 5000: *Audalican*, 4000: and *Caupolican*, 8000. The whole *Chileſian* army conſiſted of about eighty thouſand men, who, according to their cuſtom, aſſembled at a kind of feſtival; when it was unanimouſly agreed to riſe againſt the *Spaniards*: but there was ſome difference about the choice of a general, every one deſiring to have that command, as it generally happens in ſuch elections. Each leader alledged ſome particular merit; the one his valour, another his experience, a third his good fortune, and none of them ſeemed to want a pretence of obtaining their deſire. However, they at laſt concurred in electing *Caupolican*,

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as the braveſt ſoldier, and the ableſt chief: to whom they all ſwore obedience, and promiſed to execute his orders, for the promotion of their common intereſt.

THE *Spaniards* had one of their caſtles near the place of this rendezvous; which the *Indians* were impatient to attack openly: but they were prevented by their general, who took it by ſtratagem. *Baldivia* ſoon received intelligence of this inſurrection, and returned with great expedition to the valley of *Arauca*; depending ſo much on his own courage and fortune, that he would not wait for reinforcements from the other garriſons.

CAUPOLICAN, with twenty thouſand men, met *Baldivia* at *Tucapel*, where he repreſented to the *Indians*, that the *Spaniards* were only one hundred and fifty men; and that a thouſand of his brave countrymen might eaſily maintain their ground againſt ſo ſmall a number; notwithſtanding the advantage which the enemy had in their arms and horſes. Therefore, he divided his army into battalions, conſiſting of a thouſand men in each diviſion; ordering them to charge the *Spaniards* by turns, and to relieve each other as there ſhould be occaſion.

PURSUANT to theſe orders, the firſt battalion engaged the *Spaniſh* horſe with great intrepidity, and held the engagement for a conſiderable time: after which, they leiſurely retired, and were ſucceeded by another battalion, who followed the example of the firſt, and were alſo ſucceeded by others in the ſame manner, for ſeven or eight hours, without intermiſſion; till the *Spaniards* began to faint with the labours of the day, and for

want of refreſhment. *Baldivia* then attempted to make a precipitate retreat, and ordered his men to take poſſeſſion of a paſs, about a mile from the field of battle; where he imagined he ſhould ſtill be able to defend himſelf againſt all the power of *Caupolican*. But a *Chileſian*, whoſe name was *Lautaro*, whom *Baldivia* had baptized, and bred up in his own ſervice as a page, went over to the *Indians*, and directed them to take poſſeſſion of the paſs, before the *Spaniards* could arrive there. He animated them to make uſe of the advantage before them; in the following bold and nervous manner. "What is this, brave *Araucanos?* Do ye turn "your backs, when your liberty is concerned; "when your country, your children, your poſte- "rity, are at ſtake? Either recover your liberty, "or loſe your lives: for it is more happineſs to die "like ſoldiers, then to live like ſlaves. Do ye "intend to ſtain the glory of your anceſtors, ac- "quired in ſo many ages paſt, in one hour? Re- "member ye are deſcended from thoſe who gained "that renown by reſiſting their enemies, and not "flying from them; ſuch as feared neither life "or fortune, to preſerve their fame. Generous "ſoldiers, baniſh all fear, and either live free, "or die honourably." After which, he put himſelf at the head of a company of *Chileſians*, and attacked *Baldivia*; while another detachment of *Indians* ſecured the paſs, as they were directed by *Lautaro*, who gave ſuch courage to his countrymen, that they ſoon cut all the *Spaniards* in pieces, except the general *Baldivia*, whom they took priſoner, bound his hands behind him; and conducted him to *Caupolican*. The *Chileſian* general ordered *Baldivia* to be

be tied to a tree, that he might be executed with more ceremony than thoſe that periſhed in the field: when the *Spaniſh* general petitioned for his life; which *Caupolican* would have granted him, out of eſteem for his courage; eſpecially as *Baldivia* promiſed, upon oath, that he would retire from the country, with the remainder of his troops. But one of the confederate caziques was ſo much exaſperated, to find the leaſt attention given to ſuch a propoſal, that he gave *Baldivia* a violent blow on the head, with a club: after which, they ſerved him as the *Parthians* did *Cræſus*, by pouring melted gold down his throat; bidding him content himſelf, in this manner, with his inſatiable thirſt after that metal. Then, according to the cuſtom of the *Indians*, they made flutes and trumpets of the bones of his arms, legs, and thighs; keeping his head as a teſtimony of their victory, and to animate their poſterity againſt the *Spaniards*. Beſides, they inſtituted public games of wreſtling, running, leaping, and other proofs of their ſtrength and agility; in commemoration of this conqueſt over the *Spaniards*, and their *Indian* allies; of all whom, only two *Indians* eſcaped, and returned to the city of *Conception*, with the news of this fatal event.

CAUPOLICAN made *Lautaro* his lieutenant-general, for this important ſervice; who afterwards behaved himſelf with great bravery againſt the *Spaniards*. But, after the victory, the *Chileſian* general thought proper to ſend moſt of his army to their reſpective houſes, to refreſh themſelves; leaving guards at proper places, to obſerve the motions of thoſe *Spaniards* who remained in their garriſons.

WHEN the *Spaniards*, at the city of *Conception*, received intelligence of the defeat of *Baldivia*, they aſſembled all their forces which were diſperſed in the ſeveral provinces of *Chili*, and were joined by a great number of their *Indian* allies. They were all commanded by *Franciſco de Velagra*, who was lieutenant-general to *Baldivia*, and marched his forces to the valley of *Arauca*, to give battle to *Caupolican*: but he came to a high mountain in his way, and found *Lautaro* encamped on the top of it, with ten thouſand men. The foot of this mountain was waſhed by the ſea, on one ſide: the paſſage on the other ſide was not difficult; and the top was a plain proper for the engagement. The *Spaniſh* general attacked the *Indians* with three troops of horſe, in hopes of drawing them from their poſt; but in vain; for, though they made three attacks, *Lautaro* maintained his ſituation; receiving them with ſhowers of arrows, ſtones, and darts, which put the *Spaniſh* horſe into diſorder. The *Spaniards* perceived that all the movements of their horſe were of no ſervice, and that the *Indians* were taking the paſſes behind them: whereupon, *Velagra* ordered his men to uſe their fire-arms; which at firſt made a great ſlaughter among the *Indians*: but *Lautaro*, to remedy this inconvenience, ſent a detachment to attack the *Spaniards* in flank, and not to ſtop till they came cloſe up with their muſketeers; when they were to throw themſelves into their ranks, and thereby avoid the ſmall ſhot, which then would prove of little ſervice to the *Spaniards*; becauſe they muſt wound their own men, as well as the *Indians*; who have ever ſince practiſed this ſtratagem with good ſucceſs.

ceſs. The battle was bravely maintained on both ſides, till the *Spaniards* were obliged to make a retreat; which they did, fighting and defending themſelves all the way: but the *Indians* followed ſo cloſe, that they diſmounted the *Spaniſh* general, and would have killed him, if he had not valiantly defended himſelf till thirteen of his men came to his aſſiſtance. The *Spaniards* retreated, and the *Indians* purſued them for eighteen miles together; the latter having killed two thouſand five hundred of the former, including their auxiliary *Indians*.

After this victory, *Lautaro* directed his march towards the city of *Conception*, which the *Spaniards* abandoned, leaving it to be plundered by the *Indians*; who afterwards inveſted the city of *Imperial*; but were obliged to raiſe the ſiege, on account of the great rains which fell at that ſeaſon. The *Spaniards* then returned to *Conception*, and rebuilt the city; which *Lautaro* took again, and demoliſhed it a ſecond time; purſuing the *Spaniards*, with a conſiderable ſlaughter, as far as *St. Jago*, which he alſo intended to beſiege; and erected a fort for that purpoſe in an adjacent valley, where he was killed in a ſudden attack by the *Spaniards*, and his army defeated; though the *Indians* behaved with aſtoniſhing reſolution, preferring their glory to their lives, which they ſo much diſregarded, that they ran furiouſly upon the ſpears of their enemies to come to a cloſe engagement; ſo as to revenge the death of their leader, or periſh in the attempt.

The governor of *Peru*, apprehending all *Chili* would be loſt, ſent his ſon Don *Garcia Hurtado de Mendoca*, with a powerful reinforcement, to op-

poſe the confederate *Indians*. Part of theſe forces were ſent by land, and *Mendoca* ſailed with the reſt to the iſland of *Quiriquina*, near the city of *Conception*; where the inhabitants at firſt ſeemed to oppoſe his landing, but fled when the cannon of his ſhips began to fire. As ſoon as he was landed, he publiſhed a proclamation, declaring that he was come to ſave the ſouls of the *Indians*, by converting them to chriſtianity; and that, if they ſubmitted, he would treat with them in the name of the emperor *Charles* Vth. This declaration was diſperſed among the *Chileſians*, and ſixteen of their caziques aſſembled to conſult about what was proper to be done upon this occaſion; when after many debates, it was reſolved, that an ambaſſador ſhould be ſent to *Mendoca*, to know upon what terms he would accept of their friendſhip. Accordingly, the cazique *Millalan* was appointed to go upon this embaſſy; who addreſſed himſelf in the following manner to *Mendoca*: "That his "countrymen admitted the terms of peace that "were propoſed, and ſhould obſerve thoſe of "friendſhip; but not out of any terror or appre-"henſion cauſed in them by the arrival of theſe "new forces: for no power was ſufficiently formi-"dable to terrify them, having experienced their "own ſtrength in their late ſucceſs: but they were "incited to an accommodation, out of compaſ-"ſion for ſo many innocent people, ſo many wo-"men and children, who, upon occaſion of "this war, remained widows and orphans. That, "upon fair terms, they would acknowledge the "king of *Spain*; upon condition he would not "concern himſelf in any manner about their

"rights

" rights and liberty: but, if the *Spaniards* had any
" intention of acting by violence, and making
" ſlaves of the *Chileſians*, that they would ſooner
" deſtroy their own children, and themſelves, than
" ſubmit to ſo mean, ſervile, and inglorious a con-
" dition." *Mendoca* anſwered him in a very friendly manner, made him ſome preſents, and diſpatched him back to give an account of his embaſſy. But the *Indians* only wanted to enſnare the *Spaniards*, by theſe aſſurances of amity; of which *Mendoca* was ſuſpicious, and took the neceſſary precautions for his own ſecurity.

THE *Spaniards* erected a fort, upon the top of a hill, which overlooks the city of *Conception*, and fortified it with eight pieces of cannon. The *Araucanos* obſerved their motions, and ſuddenly attacked the fort, with great ſpirit, and undaunted reſolution; but were obliged to retreat with conſiderable loſs.

IMMEDIATELY after this attack, the *Spaniards* received their horſes from *St. Jago*, and a re-inforcement from *Imperial*: upon which, the *Chileſians* aſſembled all their forces; and the *Spaniards* advanced towards them in the valley of *Arauco*, where they had another bloody engagement, which was to the diſadvantage of the *Chileſians*, one of whom, named *Gaulbarino*, was taken priſoner, whoſe hands were both cut off by the *Spaniards*, to ſtrike an impreſſion upon his countrymen. But the *Indians* were ſo far from being terrified, that their general *Caupolican* ſent a challenge to *Mendoca*, to fight him with all his ſtrength; telling him, he would wait for him in his camp at *Millarapue*. The challenge was accepted, and an obſtinate battle enſued,

ſued, in which the *Chileſians* were at firſt ſucceſsful; but were afterwards obliged to retire, and leave the field to the *Spaniards*: though their retreat was conducted with great honour and reputation. The *Spaniards* took ſeveral priſoners, and among them twelve of the principal *Indians*, whom they inſtantly hanged upon ſo many trees, for an example to the reſt; and alſo put many others to the moſt exquiſite tortures, to force them to reveal ſome particular ſecrets; but their courage was inflexible, and their faith to their country inviolable; ſo that they ſeemed inſenſible of the moſt excruciating pains, and intrepidly ſubmitted to their fate, rather than diſhonourably betray their countrymen.

FROM this place, the *Spaniards* proceeded to the valley where *Baldivia* was defeated, and erected a fort; from whence they made excurſions, and endeavoured to advance their conqueſts. While *Caupolican* called a general aſſembly of the *Indians*, where it was reſolved never to lay down their arms; but either to conquer or die, that they might drive out the *Spaniards*, and reſtore their country to its liberty.

CAUPOLICAN was unſucceſsful in ſome other encounters, which rendered him ſomewhat unpopular among the *Indians*: ſo that he was deſirous of retrieving his character, by undertaking ſome noble enterprize; notwithſtanding *Rengo*, *Orempello*, *Tucapel*, and ſome other of the principal *Chileſians*, diſapproved of his project, and refuſed to give him any aſſiſtance: becauſe, he intended to ſurprize the *Spaniards*, in their fortreſs, by a ſtratagem; which the other chiefs diſdained, as, at moſt, it would be only obtaining a victory by ſurprize or treachery.

Therefore,

Therefore, *Caupolican* was determined to make this attempt by himſelf, and ſent one of his officers in diſguiſe to enter the fort; who communicated the intentions of his general to a young *Indian* in the *Spaniſh* ſervice; but met with a traitor, where he expected a friend. The *Chileſians* were encouraged to the attack, by the young *Indian*; who had acquainted the *Spaniards* with the deſign, and they prepared themſelves for defence. *Caupolican* led his troops to the fort, where the *Spaniards* pretended to be unguarded and aſleep, till many of the *Indians* entered; when they ſuddenly made ſuch a furious diſcharge upon the aſſailants, that few of them eſcaped from the ſlaughter; *Caupolican* himſeif being taken priſoner, after concealing himſelf in a wood, where he intended to abide till he could aſſemble another army.

CAUPOLICAN was deſervedly held in higher eſtimation than any other of the *Chileſian* generals; having defeated *Baldivia*, and put him to death: but he was now to undergo the ſame fate from the reſentment of his enemies, who juſt before trembled at the very mention of his name. *Baldivia* petitioned for his life to the *Indians*; ſo did *Caupolican* to the *Spaniards*, who were equally as unmerciful: for, after this brave general promiſed to cauſe all the country to ſubmit to the king of *Spain*, and to give way for the introduction of the chriſtian religion, his cruel and unrelenting enemies publickly ſentenced him to be empaled alive, and ſhot to death with arrows, for a terror to the reſt of the *Indians*; which ſentence was as barbarouſly executed; though he endured it with the greateſt patience and equanimity.

THE death of *Caupolican* only contributed to render the hatred of the *Indians* more implacable to the *Spaniards*, to make the wound almoſt incurable, and re-kindle the war with more animoſity. After this victory, *Mendoca* rebuilt the cities of *Baldivia* and *Imperial*, which had been deſtroyed; built *Oſorno* and *Mendoca*; divided the country among his principal followers; and returned with great honour to *Peru*. But the *Chileſians* were determined to preſerve their independency, aſſembled freſh forces, and attacked the *Spaniſh* colonies, ſome of which were taken and retaken ſeveral times: ſo that the war continued to be carried on, with great obſtinacy and cruelty, for upwards of fifty years; when it appears, by the *Spaniards* own relation, that they were driven, with great ſlaughter, from moſt of their ſettlements in *Chili*.

ON the 24th of *November*, 1599, five thouſand *Indians* took the city of *Imperial* by ſurprize; plundered the place, killed many of the inhabitants, and took 400 into ſlavery. They carried on their revenge with ſuch indefatigable ardour, that, in 1604, out of the thirteen cities eſtabliſhed in *Chili*, they had deſtroyed five; being *Imperial*, *Baldivia*, *Angol*, *Santa Cruz*, and *Conception*. They afterwards plundered *Oſorno* and *Villarica*: "to which nothing "can be ſaid, ſays the royal hiſtorian *Garcillaſſo* "*de la Vega*, but that theſe were judgments, per- "mitted by God, in his ſecret providence, for the "chaſtiſements of mankind." Though he might have more naturally made this obſervation: "That "theſe calamities, brought on the *Spaniards*, were "only the efforts of a brave and generous people, "ſtruggling for natural liberty, againſt the vio- "lence of their invaders."

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THE *Chileſians* were ſo ſucceſsful againſt the *Spaniards*, that the *Dutch Weſt-India* company, in 1642, fitted out a ſquadron, under the command of captain *Brewer*; who was ordered to ſail to the coaſt of *Chili*, and ſettle colonies there: becauſe, they imagined he might ſafely poſſeſs himſelf of ſome of the gold mines; concluding, that all nations, which were enemies to the *Spaniards*, would be received as friends by the *Chileſians*. The *Dutch* defeated a body of *Spaniards*, and took the town of *Carelmappa*, which they burnt, and retired to their ſhips. They afterwards took the town of *Caſtro*, on the iſland of *Chiloe*, and intended to reduce the whole country of *Chili* under the dominion of the ſtates-general of the united provinces; for which purpoſe, they contracted a friendſhip with ſome of the caziques, who readily entered into an alliance againſt the *Spaniards*, and permitted the *Dutch* to erect a fort at *Baldivia*, who ruined the whole ſcheme, by their own indiſcretion. For when the *Dutch* propoſed a commercial intercourſe with the *Chileſians*, and to exchange arms for their gold; the caziques immediately appeared jealous of their new allies, declared they had no gold mines, and that there was no ſuch thing as gold in uſe among the natives. They alſo refuſed to ſupply the *Dutch* with proviſions; whereby they were under a neceſſity of relinquiſhing the expedition, and of returning to *Braſil*, which was then under their ſubjection.

THE court of *England* was afterwards deſirous of making ſome ſettlements in *Chili*; to which the miniſtry of king *Charles* II. was encouraged by the intelligence they received from an old *Spaniard*, uſually

uſually called Don *Carlos*, who had formerly reſided in ſouth *America*; importing, that the *Spaniards* had almoſt abandoned *Chili*; and that it would not be difficult for the *Engliſh* to cultivate a good underſtanding with the natives; as alſo to eſtabliſh a very advantageous traffic with them, whoſe principal returns would be in gold: but he pointed out *Baldivia*, as the port where there would be the greateſt probability of ſucceſs in ſuch an expedition. In conſequence of which, the *Sweepſtakes*, a man of war of 36 guns, and a pink, were fitted out, under the command of Sir *John Narborough*, who ſet ſail from *England*, on the 26th of *September*, 1669, and arrived at *Baldivia*, on the 15th of *December*, 1670. He was expreſsly commanded to give no moleſtation to the *Spaniards* in their ſettlements; nor to commit any acts of hoſtility againſt *Spain*: but the *Spaniards* would not permit him to trade with the *Indians*, and ſeized his lieutenant, with three of his men, whom they detained as priſoners. Sir *John Narborough*, upon this occaſion, thought of reſcuing his men by force, but he altered his reſolution; either becauſe his force was inſufficient; or elſe, that he recollected the fate of the great and unhappy Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who loſt his head for attacking the *Spaniards* in *America*, when he had no commiſſion for his authority: ſo that Sir *John* quitted the coaſt, on the 22d of *December*, 1670; and returned to *England* on the 10th of *June*, 1671, having been about a year and three quarters on this voyage; but not more than half a year on his paſſage from *Baldivia* to the *Lizard*.

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THE *Chileſians* ſtill continued their oppoſition againſt the *Spaniards*, till the year 1690; when they entered into a treaty of peace, whereby they acknowledged the king of *Spain*, for their lawful ſovereign: and the *Spaniards* agreed to permit them to live in a peaceable manner, according to their own laws and cuſtoms. However, theſe *Indians* entertain an hereditary averſion to the *Spaniards*, who have never been able to reduce them to their ſubjection by the force of arms, or to win them to their intereſt by the effect of preſents: they have traditionary relations of the cruelties committed by the *Spaniards* on their anceſtors; they glow on every ſeaſonable occaſion, with a warm ſpirit of reſentment againſt the invaders of their country; and they ſtill retain their primitive love of liberty: ſo that there is the higheſt probability, they would readily join with any other *European* powers to expel the *Spaniards* out of the *Chileſian* dominions.

WHEN the *Dutch* invaded *Chili*, in 1643, the *Spaniards* had not more than fifteen hundred ſoldiers, either on the continent, or iſlands of *Chili*; according to the account given by captain *Brewer*, who ſays, there were there hundred in *Volpariſa*, and *St. Jago* on the coaſt: three hundred in the city of *Conception*; one hundred in *Coquimbo*; and the ſame number on the banks of the river *Biobbio*; eighty in *Tucapel*; five hundred in the forts of the valley of *Arauco*; with one hundred and twenty in *Carelmappa*, *Calimbuco*, and the iſland of *Chiloe*. But he does not mention the particular number of the other *Spaniſh* inhabitants; only in general, that they were more numerous than the garriſon ſoldiers. Though it is evident, that many

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of the *Chileſians* had embraced chriſtianity, and were intermarried with the *Spaniards* at this time: as alſo, that the tribes of ſome caziques were in alliance with the *Spaniards*, who refuſed to be ſubject to their government: but it is likewiſe true, that the other *Chileſian* tribes were then in a ſtate of war with their invaders.

THOUGH the country of *Chili* is ſo very extenſive, yet, according to the lateſt and beſt accounts, the number of inhabitants are very diſproportionable to ſuch an extent of territory. The *Spaniards*, throughout the whole, are not accounted above twenty thouſand men capable of bearing arms: the meſtizoes, mulattoes, and negroes, are between ſeventy and eighty thouſand: but the bulk of the inhabitants are *Indians*; ſome of whom are ſtiled *free*, and others *ſubjected*.

THE free *Indians* acknowledge the dominion of the king of *Spain*, but pay him no tribute; they amount to many thouſands, and inhabit the greateſt part of the country, eſpecially towards the mountains, being governed by their reſpective chiefs, whom the *Spaniards* ſtile caziques; though the *Indians* never acknowledge that title: but the government and manners of theſe free *Indians* will be more properly repreſented, in that part of this hiſtory, which treats of the independent *Indian* nations.

THE ſubjected *Indians* are about fifteen thouſand, who belong to the *Spaniards*, live among them, and ſerve them in the condition of a kind of vaſſalage, not in the ſtate of ſlavery; being divided, according to their habitations, into different lordſhips, containing a certain number of families,

called

called commanderies, which the king beſtows on whom he pleaſes. If theſe *Indians* live with their lord, and ſerve him, he muſt not only afford them a maintenance, but give each of them a ſalary of thirty pieces of eight, or about five pound, ſeven ſhillings and ſix-pence ſterling, annually: though, if the *Indians* are not inclinable to live with their lord, they may be exempted, on paying him a yearly tribute of ten pieces of eight, or one pound, fifteen ſhillings, and ten pence ſterling.

THERE are alſo ſome *Indian* ſlaves, who are ſold to the *Spaniards* by the free *Indians*: but, by the laws, they cannot be ſold a ſecond time, without their own conſent.

SECTION IV.

An account of the produce of Chili; *its vegetables, mines, and animals. A deſcription of the diſtrict of* Cuyo; *with the method of travelling through it to* Buenos Ayres. *Some account of the* South Sea, *or* Pacific Ocean. *And a general view of the trade of* Chili.

IT is now proper to ſpeak of the produce of *Chili*; which is very different from what is produced in the other parts of this continent: for the fruits of *Mexico* and *Peru*, are very far from coming to any perfection in *Chili*; becauſe thoſe countries are within the tropics, and *Chili* is out of them; for which reaſon alſo, the fruits of *Europe* take very well in *Chili*, eſpecially apples, pears, apricots, peaches, and quinces, which bear amaz-

ingly; and, if care is not taken to leſſen the quantity of fruit while it is young, it is impoſſible for the boughs to bear the weight of them; ſo that they are obliged to be propped with forks, before they are fit to be gathered. The fruit that exceeds all the reſt for bearing, is the apple of all kinds, of which there are many very extenſive orchards: but fruit is ſeldom ſold here, becauſe any perſon may ſtep into a garden or orchard, and eat what he pleaſes, without any interruption; except ſtrawberries, which, when cultivated, are called *Fruſilla*, and are ſold very dear; being, according to *Ovalle*, as big as pears; though the ſame author ſays, he has ſeen them grow wild for ſeveral miles together. There are great quantities of olives and grapes; particularly the muſcadel grape, which yields a noble and generous wine; the branches of the vines being very thick, and the bunches of grapes extraordinary large: but there is ſuch plenty of them, that it proves a grievance; becauſe there is no vent for ſuch quantities, and the *Indians* frequently kill themſelves by drinking to exceſs.

THE principal foreſt-trees of this country, are the cypreſs, cedar, oak, paragua, cinnamon, guayac, thorn-buſh, ſandal, and palm. The cypreſs moſt commonly grows in the precipices of the *Cordillera*; being large and tall, ſhooting up till its tops can be warmed by the ſun-beams: it yields a fine odorous ſmell; and, though it is very plentiful, bears a good price, eſpecially in *Peru*, where it is carried, and uſed in building, particularly for the inſide of churches. The cedar is larger than the cypreſs: the colour of the wood is red, when firſt worked; but it gradually loſes that lively colour,

and

and comes to the complexion of walnut-tree wood. The oaks thrive exceedingly, grow thick, and yield very large planks: ſome of them are white, and others red: but the wood of the former is periſhable, and that of the latter durable. The paragua is a handſome branching tree, which keeps its leaves all the year; being like the elm, and affording ſome valuable timber. The cinnamon-tree is ſo called, from having ſome reſemblance to the true cinnamon of the iſland of *Ceylon*, in *Aſia*; but the bark wants both the fine ſmell and taſte of the real cinnamon: however, the timber of this tree is chiefly uſed in their buildings. The guayac wood is almoſt as hard, and as heavy as iron; being good for many infirmities, when taken by way of decoction. The thorn-buſh grows in cluſters, or groves; which is the ordinary fewel of the people near *St. Jago*; but, in other places, they make charcoal of this wood, for their furnaces and forges: it has ſome reſemblance of an oak, but is more durable; the heart of it being red, and ſcarce ever decaying. The ſandal-tree is very odoriferous, being reputed a preſervative againſt the plague; ſo that it is uſed by the confeſſors, and others, who are obliged to approach infected people. The palm-tree grows generally in the mountains, very thick and lofty: all the body of the tree is naked to the top, or firſt ſprout; its nature being to loſe all its old branches, as the new ones come out; by which means, the body of the tree riſes freely: and, being diſencumbered of ſuch boughs as grow out of the ſides of other trees, is totally employed in feeding the top, and the fruit which grows within it: ſo that it is like a pyramid

round the fruit, to preſerve it by the admirable texture of its leaves, and the branches whereby it is encompaſſed. The fruit of the palm-tree, is called cocoas; being like filberds, though bigger by half: the kernel is hollow, and contains a kind of milk, of an excellent taſte; which, in ſome months, is imbibed by the ſhell, and is then preſerved like almonds. The kernel is firſt covered with a hard ſhell, then with another cover of a green or yellow colour; which is wove ſo cloſe and ſtrongly about it, that, when green, it is eaſier to break than to peel it off. The fruit grows cloſe to a ſtalk, which ſometimes will have about a thouſand upon it: this is encompaſſed by a great ſhell, that grows larger proportionally with the bunch it contains, till, at laſt, the fruit makes it burſt and open into two parts, like ſmall boats, each of above half a yard long, and two ſpans diameter in the broadeſt place; the branch within being all of a fine beautiful yellow, which hangs on the branches till it is ripe, and then falls to the ground, where it is gathered, and ſent in great quantities to *Peru*. There are alſo ſeveral kinds of wild fruit-trees; as the pengue, magues, quetu, and huigan; of whoſe fruits the *Indians* makes ſome fermented liquors. Beſides, there is a tree, called the murtilla, which *Herrera* ſays, grows in the mountains, and bears a fruit that is a common food to the natives, who call it uni, though the *Spaniards* call it murtilla: it is red, and like a ſmall grape, yielding a pleaſant kind of wine; which when turned to vinegar, has a better taſte and colour than wine-vinegar; for it retains the colour of the fruit, which is very ſweet and odoriferous. There is alſo good oil, made

made of a ſeed called madi; which was once extremely well reliſhed; but oil of olives is now in greater eſtimation. It is impoſſible to give a particular deſcription of all the other different ſorts of trees, growing in the woods and mountains of *Chili*, where there are few that loſe their leaves in winter; eſpecially thoſe that grow wild in the woods, which are generally aromatic, and of a very fragrant ſmell; but the fineſt of this kind grow in the territory of the *Conception*. *Ovalle*, even ſays, that, in travelling, he met with lovely groves bordering the high ways, and ſending forth ſo rich a ſmell from their leaves, that the flowers of jeſſamine were not more delicious. That there were alſo abundance of myrtles and laurels, which grew naturally in capacious groves: yet, among theſe, there were others whoſe leaves infinitely exceed them in the delicacy of their ſmell. There are alſo ſeveral kinds of plants, flowers, and medicinal herbs. The muſtard-plant, according to *Ovalle*, grows ſo prodigiouſly large, that he has travelled many leagues through groves of muſtard, which were taller than man and horſe; ſo that the birds built their neſts in the branches.

The firſt rains prepare the earth for its ornamental dreſs of flowers with the ſpring, which begins about the middle of *Auguſt*; and they continue in bloom till the heats come in, which is in *December*; flouriſhing in ſuch great variety and abundance, that *Ovalle* reckoned forty-two different ſorts at one time; excluſive of the garden flowers brought from *Europe*, ſuch as carnations, roſes, lillies, and gilliflowers: beſides, thoſe wild

flowers were ſo odorous, that ſeveral of them, when diſtilled, afforded perfume-waters.

THEY have alſo phyſical herbs and plants of great virtue; particularly the quinchamali, albaquilla, and ſome others only known to the machis, or *Indian* phyſicians.

THE *Chileſians* had great plenty of maiz, or *Indian* corn, before the arrival of the *Spaniards* in this country: but they had neither wheat, barley, oats, anniſe, cummin, coriander-ſeed, linſeed, flax, hemp, peas, cabbage, lettice, raddiſhes, cardoons, chicory, endive, cucumbers, parſley, garlick, or onions; all which they have now in abundance, and their roots, particularly turnips, grow to a prodigious ſize.

THIS country abounds with mines of gold, ſilver, copper, tin, quickſilver, and lead. The copper is uſed in making of cannons for *Peru*, and the neighbouring kingdoms; in the garriſons of which there are always ſtores, particularly on the coaſt: beſides, all the bells of churches, and utenſils for families, are made of this metal; ſo that, ſince the working of theſe mines, no copper has come from *Spain*; for the *Indies* are ſufficiently ſupplied by them with all they can want.

THERE is little lead worked, becauſe there is ſmall uſe of it; and of quickſilver leſs, becauſe *Peru* affords enough of it. The mines of ſilver likewiſe lie unwrought; the golden mines being leſs expenſive, on which account the inhabitants have turned their induſtry towards them.

THE gold mines are ſo numerous and rich, that from the confines of *Peru*, to the extremeſt part of *Chili*, even as far as the ſtreights of *Magellan*, there is no part of the country in which ſome of theſe mines

have

have not been diſcovered. All the authors, who have wrote any thing relating to this country, greatly extol it for its opulence and fecundity; which has likewiſe been done by all thoſe who have navigated the ſtreights of *Magellan*. *Antonia de Herrera*, in his general hiſtory of the *Indies*, ſays, "That in all the *Weſt-*
"*Indies*, no gold is ſo fine as that of *Baldivia* in
"*Chili*, except that of the famous *Caravaya* in
"*Peru*; and that, when thoſe mines were firſt
"worked, an *Indian* uſed to get from them every
"day twenty or thirty peſo's of gold;" or about 12 *l.* ſterling, which *Ovalle* ſays, was a prodigious gain. But both theſe authors were too apt to exaggerate.

GOLD is procured with leſs difficulty than ſilver out of the mines: firſt, becauſe ſilver coſts much pains to dig it from the hard rocks, then to beat it in the mills to powder, which mills are chargeable, as alſo the quickſilver neceſſary to be uſed to make the ſilver unite; and all the reſt of the operations requiſite to refine it. Whereas the advantage of getting gold, has no other trouble in it, than to carry the earth, in which it is found, to the water, and there waſh it in mills for that purpoſe, where there is a ſtream to carry off the earth; and the gold, being the heavieſt, goes to the bottom. It is true, ſometimes they follow the gold vein through rocks, and hard places, where it grows thinner and thinner; till, at laſt, the profit that ariſes is very ſmall; yet they perſiſt to follow it, in hopes it will grow larger, and end, as it ſometimes does, in what they call bolſa, which is, when coming to a ſofter and eaſier part of the rock, the vein inlarges ſo much, that one of theſe

diſcoveries is enough to enrich a family all their lives. There is leſs gold found at preſent than formerly; becauſe diſſentions have been long maintained between the *Spaniards* and the nation of *Araucanos*: but ſtill ſome is procured; particularly about *Coquimbo*, where the greateſt quantity is got, during the winter rains, which waſh it down from the mountains into rivers, ponds, and rivulets; when the women go into the water, feel out the grains with their toes, and make up as much as ſupplies their preſent neceſſities, according to *Ovalle*: though captain *Rogers* obſerves, this is a very ſingular way to get gold. *Ovalle* adds, that he ſent one of thoſe grains, of a pretty conſiderable bigneſs, to *Seville*, to be touched; and that it was found to be twenty three carats fine, without any manner of purification.

THE *Chileſians*, as well as the other natives of *America*, had no great variety of four footed animals, till their country was diſcovered by the *Spaniards*; who, about two hundred years ago, tranſported thither almoſt every ſpecies, which were left to run wild in the foreſts, where they multiplied ſo greatly, that the *Chileſians* can now bring a body of ten or twelve thouſand horſe into the field at a ſhort warning.

THE cows have increaſed to ſuch a prodigious degree, that it is aſtoniſhing to ſee what numerous herds of them are always feeding in the great plains of *Tucuman* and *Buenos Ayres*, without any owner; being the property of any perſon who is able to catch them. Their numbers are ſo great, that, according to *Ovalle*, a murrain is thought a neceſſary purge to leſſen their too great abundance: becauſe, the richneſs of the land fattens them to ſuch a de-

a degree, that one hundred and fifty pounds weight of tallow are frequently taken out of one cow: and the propagation of their ſpecies is incredible. Their hides are therefore ſo plentiful, that, though the conſumption of them is ſo great in *Peru*, it is not half ſufficient for the product of the cattle of *Chili*: for which reaſon, it is an advantage to have a decreaſe of the cattle; as the profit of the tallow and hides would be greater, while the trouble and expence of ſervants would be leſs.

SUCH is the difference of the preſent ſtate of *Chili*, to what it was formerly, that, *Herrera* ſays, when the ſettlement was firſt began, a horſe was commonly ſold for a thouſand pieces of eight, or about 180 *l.* ſterling: but *Ovalle* ſays, he ſaw horſes, accoutred for war, ſold in the territory of *St. Jago*, for about ten ſhillings a piece, that were equal to the *Neapolitan* breed for ſhape, courage, and good qualities: and he alſo obſerves, that the cows were firſt bought at an exceſſive price; but are now ſold for a crown a piece, and the calves for half a crown; the ſheep being alſo ſold for three pence, or three half-pence a piece.

THE ſheep of *Chili*, or vicunnas, which are proper to the country, are of the ſhape of camels; but much ſmaller, and without any bunch on their backs. They are white, black, brown, and ſome aſh-coloured; being uſed by the natives to plow the land in ſome parts, before they had oxen: but now they are chiefly employed for the carriage of wine, wheat, and other proviſions. They kneel down to be loaded, and when their burthen is well placed, they riſe, and carry it very gravely: being governed by a kind of bridle,

put

put through holes in their ears; ſo that, by pulling the reins, the leader directs them which way he pleaſes. The upper lip of the animal is ſlit, and the neck is about three feet long. Their wool is greatly valued, for making cloaks and mantles, as fine as camblets.

THE guanacos, chamois, or wild goats, are very like theſe country ſheep, both in ſhape and motion; but they are of a clear red colour. They go in herds, and feed in the fields; but never can be tamed: ſo that they are hunted down, and their young ones taken; whoſe fleſh is eaten freſh, and taſtes like that of a kid; though the fleſh of the old ones is dried and ſmoaked. Theſe goats, in a bag they have under the belly, breed the bezoar ſtones; which are highly valued for their efficacy againſt poiſon, and malignant fevers: the matter out of which they are made, being herbs that theſe animals eat to cure themſelves of any wounds from the poiſon of venemous creatures, or other accidents.

THERE are likewiſe a ſort of little rabbits, called pegues by the *Indians*, which are wild: but there is another kind, called cuyes, which are tame.

THERE are ſome ſquirrels in the valley of *Guaſco*; whoſe ſkins are grey, or aſh-coloured, and held in as great eſtimation, for their warmth and fineneſs of the touch, as furs.

MANY hares are bred in the *Pampas*, or plains of *Cuyo*; and particularly one ſort, whoſe fleſh taſtes like that of ſucking pigs.

THEIR birds and fowls are eagles, hawks, and parrots: as alſo the cauder, a prodigious large and ravenous bird of prey.

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THE parrots fly about ſcreaming, in ſuch numerous flocks, that they obſcure the ſight of the ſun; and never fail to come down from the mountains into the valleys at the ſeaſon of the year when the fruits are ripe, of which they deſtroy great quantities.

AT the time when the inhabitants ſlaughter their beef, there comes down another voracious fowl, larger than a duck; which gorges itſelf with the carcaſes that are left in the fields, ſo that it cannot readily fly; therefore it is hunted, and knocked on the head, by the boys at this ſeaſon.

THE oſtrich is another bird which is hunted by the natives; and, though he cannot fly, he runs ſo ſwiftly that he frequently eſcapes from the fleeteſt dogs and horſes.

THEY have another long legged fowl, bigger than a turkey, that wades through ponds and rivers, and lives upon fiſh. Theſe the *Indians* hunt for their feathers, which are red and white, and take many more fowls on the ſame account; for plumes of beautiful feathers are the principal ornaments of their heads: they abound alſo in ſinging birds of various kinds, many of them unknown to *Europeans*; and they have ſeveral which are found in *Europe*, ſuch as linnets, nightingales, blackbirds, and finches. When the *Spaniards* arrived there, they had but one ſort of tame fowl, which was between a duck and a hen; but now they have introduced all manner of *European* poultry, which multiply exceedingly, and are much better food here, than in warmer climates.

THE *Chileſians* only, of all the people of *America*, can ſay they are gainers by being acquainted with

with the *Spaniards*; for moſt of them ſtill retain their liberties, and have acquired the poſſeſſion of *European* cattle, fowls, grain, and fruits, which they wanted before. They have alſo learned ſeveral arts and ſciences of the *Europeans*, and in many inſtances excel their maſters.

THEIR lakes and rivers abound in good fiſh, as well as their ſeas. Whales and grampus's are frequently found on the coaſt of *Chili*; and the former in ſuch plenty, that *Seerteen* ſays, "that when "he ſailed through the ſtreights of *Magellan*, he "met with ſo many near certain iſlands, that they "were obliged to ſail with great care and attention "to avoid them." They are all along the coaſt of *Copiapo* and *Guaſco*; being of no ſmall profit, according to *Ovalle*, on account of the amber-greaſe they caſt on ſhore; as alſo for their oil. The tunny fiſh, and the albocaras, are both large kinds of fiſh, and are chiefly caught on the coaſt of *Coquimbo*. The ſea-lions are ſaid to be as large as a colt. The ſea-wolves, or ſeals, are as big as calves, and are found in prodigious numbers all along the coaſt.

WHAT has been thus enumerated, relates only to the province of *Chili* proper. For as to that of *Cuyo*, which lies on the eaſt of the *Andes*, and between theſe mountains and the *Atlantic Ocean*, there is no perfect account, nor indeed of any of the inland provinces: but *Ovalle*, a native of *Chili*, and who was procurator for the jeſuits of that province at *Rome*, ſays, it is amazing to reflect, when there are only the mountains of *Andes* between the provinces of *Cuyo* and *Chili* proper, they ſhould be ſo different in their qualities, and in every reſpect

almoſt

almoſt diametrically oppoſite to each other, though the latitude is the ſame.

In *Cuyo*, he ſays, the heats are intolerable in ſummer, while the weather in *Chili* is very temperate. Thunder, lightening, rain, and tempeſts, are frequent in *Cuyo*, during the ſummer; while in *Chili*, they have ſettled ſerene weather, without thunder, lightening, or rain. In winter the weather is variable in *Chili*; but never exceſſive cold to the weſtward of the mountains: whereas in *Cuyo*, they have conſtant ſerene weather in the winter, and exceſſive hard froſts; inſomuch, that the cattle die in the fields, if they are not houſed; and for five or ſix months every year, the paſſages of the mountains are ſo locked up by the ſnows, that theſe two provinces have no manner of communication.

In *Chili*, there are ſcarce any ſnakes, or poiſonous inſects; but they are numerous in *Cuyo*; where the natives are alſo tormented with buggs, muſquitos, and other vermin, of which there are none, or very few, in *Chili*.

The *Spaniards* have pretty well ſtocked this province, as well as *Chili*, with all manner of *European* cattle: the inhabitants have likewiſe great numbers of *Peruvian* ſheep, and goats of their own: they abound alſo in corn and wine; and their fruits are ſaid to have a better flavour than thoſe of *Chili*; as their ſummers are hotter, and of this there is ſuch plenty that they ſupply the province of *La Plata*, and even *Buenos Ayres*, on the *Atlantic Ocean*, with dried grapes, and peaches; apples, oil, and excellent wine: but then this muſt be underſtood of that part of the province, that

that lies next the mountains; for the deſarts of *Pampas* extend ſix or ſeven hundred miles further eaſtward, over which they are obliged to paſs in their way to *Buenos Ayres*. Theſe, ſays *Ovalle*, are vaſt plains, which, like the ocean, afford an unbounded proſpect, but produce neither trees or herbage: after which, the ſame author proceeds to relate the manner of travelling over the deſarts, and gives ſome further light into the nature of this country.

THEY travel in covered carts and waggons, made almoſt as commodious as a houſe, with the doors to ſhut, and windows on each ſide to let in the air; laying beds or mattreſſes on the floor, on which they ſleep moſt part of the journey. Theſe waggons are drawn by oxen, and they ſet out two hours before ſun ſet, travelling all night, and till the ſun is an hour high the next morning; when the paſſengers reſt, and eat the proviſion they carry with them, or take in hunting by the way: for thoſe that are diſpoſed for rural ſports have horſes and dogs with them, and take great numbers of the guanacoes, and vicunnas, or wild ſheep, and goats, peculiar to ſouth *America*. They take alſo a great many partridges, francolins, and other game; from whence a perſon might ſeem inclined to think it muſt be a very pleaſant journey from *Chili* to *Buenos Ayres*: but travellers inform us, that they are ſubject to inconveniences which very much abate the pleaſure of it; particularly the exceſſive heats, which oblige them to be ſtill all the middle of the day; when they have no other defence from the ſun or rain, than what the waggon affords, at many ſtages; though at ſome there

happens

happens to be ſmall brooks, and willows growing by them, that afford the traveller a refreſhing ſhade. But the greateſt inconvenience is the want of water, which is not met with, ſometimes, for ſeveral days journey; therefore, the travellers carry water both for themſelves and their cattle, which ſometimes is all ſpent, and the travellers muſt periſh, if they are not happily relieved by a ſhower of rain. However, all this might be remedied if the country was inhabited; for they meet with ſprings in many places, within a few yards of the ſurface: and the rains alone, which happen frequently in ſummer, might be preſerved in ciſterns and reſervoirs, if there were any towns or villages in the country: but, at preſent, theſe are the difficulties travellers meet with in the plains of *Cuyo*, *Tucuman*, and *Rio Plata*; beſides, for many leagues, they cannot ſee a hill, a tree, or a ſtone, any more than water, unleſs their way lies near the banks of the river *Plata*, or ſome other river.

THE ſea bordering upon *Chili*, is called the *South-Sea*; becauſe it lies towards the antarctic pole, from whence the ſouth wind blows, in oppoſition to the north, which reigns in the ocean as far as the arctic pole; ſo that a ſouth wind is eſteemed favourable in *Chili*, as the north wind is in *Europe*; which made *Ovalle* call the *Europeans* ſons of the north; and the natives of ſouth *America*, children of the ſouth. The *South-Sea* is alſo called the *Pacific Ocean*, on account of that conſtant ſerenity of weather, which reigns there from four degrees to thirty or thirty-five degrees of ſouth latitude, along the greater parts of the coaſts of *Chili* and *Peru*; as alſo indefinitely from the *American* ſhore weſtward. But it might alſo have been

been called the *Pacific Ocean*, on account of the ſingular tranquility of its navigation; which *Ovalle* ſays, is ſeldom interrupted by other *Europeans*: though, both before, and ſince his time, the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, have frequently made the *Spaniards* ſenſible that they could navigate in theſe ſeas, and convince them of their inſecurity.

VASCO NUNEZ, on the 25th of *September*, 1513, formally took poſſeſſion of the *South-Sea*, and all the countries bordering upon it, for the crown of *Caſtile*. However, *Herrera* obſerves, that the motive which induced *Magellan* to call this the *Pacific Ocean*, was, becauſe here was not, in all that element, a more ſpacious career for the winds and tide; and becauſe there reigns ſo ſtrong and ſteady a levant between the tropics, that the ſeamen, for ſeveral days together, have no occaſion to hand their ſails, or the ſteerſman to move his helm; ſailing through theſe extenſive ſeas as if they were paſſing along a river or canal.

THE moſt frequent navigations of the *South-Sea* are from *Peru* to *Panama*, and from thence to new *Spain*, and the *Philippines*: but thoſe from *Peru* to *Chili*, are leſs uſed: by which it appears, that the greateſt part of the commerce carried on in the *South-Sea*, is between the tropics, where the ſun has ſo much force, as to keep the winds from being furious, and from making ſuch continued ſtorms as are raiſed without the tropics, and in parts nearer the pole. Upon this account, and as there is never any winter in theſe climates, they might alſo call it the *Pacific Sea*; becauſe they experienced the contrary effects to what they found in the north ſea, where moſt of the navigations

are

are out of the tropics; therefore, as the ſun has leſs power, the winter predominates, and raiſes terrible ſtorms. However, *Ovalle* ſays, the *South-Sea* does not deſerve the name of *Pacific* ſouthwards beyond the tropic of *Capricorn*; becauſe navigators undergo great hardſhips between 26 and 53 degrees of north latitude: for, as ſoon as the winter begins, the ſea cannot be navigated without manifeſt danger; the ſtorms being nothing inferior to thoſe in the north ſea; and from about the iſland of *Chiloe*, in 43 degrees, the ſea is very dangerous in ſummer. According to *Dampier*, ſtorms and hurricanes are likewiſe frequently met with to the northward of the tropic of *Cancer*. The ſame author alſo ſays, that they have no rain or dark clouds in what is properly called the *Pacific Ocean*, though it is often ſo thick and hazy, as to hinder an obſervation of the ſun with a quadrant; and there are frequently, in the morning, thick miſts that wet a little; but there are no tempeſts, tornadoes, or hurricanes: yet, north of the equator, they are met with in this ſea, as well as in the *Atlantic Ocean*.

As for the product made by the induſtry of the inhabitants, it conſiſts peculiarly in the breed of their cattle of all kinds; whoſe tallow, hides, and dried fleſh, are ſent to *Lima*; where, having firſt retained the neceſſary proportion for themſelves, which is about twenty thouſand quintals of tallow every year for that city, and hides accordingly, the merchants diſtribute the reſt all over *Peru*: the hides, particularly, are carried up to *Potoſi*, and all that inland tract of mines where moſt of their cloathing comes from *Chili*; they are alſo carried to *Panama*,

nama, *Carthagena*, and other parts of that continent; ſome of this trade extending itſelf likewiſe to *Tucuman* and *Buenos Ayres*, and from thence to *Braſil*.

THE ſecond product is the cordage and tackling, with which all the ſhips of the *South Seas* are furniſhed from *Chili*; as alſo the match for fire arms, with which all the *Spaniſh* garriſons along the coaſt are provided from thoſe parts: for hemp grows no where in the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, but in *Chili*: and there is alſo pack-thread exported, with other ſmaller cordage.

THE third product conſiſts of mules, which are ſent to *Potoſi*, through the deſart of *Aracama*.

THE fourth product is the cocoa-nuts, which are the fruit of the palm-trees; and are not, indeed, produced by induſtry, but grow wild and thick in the mountains, without any cultivation. Almonds, and the product of gardens, which are not found in *Peru*, are likewiſe carried thither with great profit. *Ovalle* ſays, when he came to *Lima*, he obſerved that the anniſeed which had been bought at *Chili* for two pieces of eight, was ſold there for twenty; and the cummin ſeed, bought at twenty, was ſold for fourſcore; which makes merchants very willing to trade to thoſe parts, as they hope to grow rich in a ſmall time; and this increaſes the riches of *Chili*, by drawing thither every day men with good ſtocks. The gains made this way are ſo conſiderable, that a man who has about forty thouſand crowns to employ in land, flocks, and ſlaves to take care of them, may every year have a revenue of ten or twelve thouſand crowns;

crowns; which is a gain of twenty-five per cent. obtained very lawfully, and without any ſubjection to the dangers of the ſeas; for thoſe, who will run the hazards of that element, gain much more; and the merchants, by many commodities, get a hundred, two hundred, nay, three hundred per cent. in a navigation of about three weeks, which is the time uſually employed from *Chili* to *Lima*. Beſides, it is very ſeldom that any ſtorms are felt in that voyage; or, at leaſt, not any that endanger the loſs of the ſhips. The greateſt danger proceeds from the avarice of the owners and merchants; who, truſting to the tranquility of thoſe ſeas, eſpecially as they ſail all the way from *Chili* to *Lima* before the wind, load up to the mid maſt. *Ovalle* ſays, this is not exaggeration; becauſe he has ſeen them go out of the port with proviſions for the voyage, and other neceſſaries, as high as the ropes that held the maſts: though the royal officers are preſent, to hinder the ſhips from being over-loaded. However, there are many goods left behind in the magazines of the port; for the land is ſo productive of every thing, that the only misfortune of it, is to want a vent for its product, which is enough to ſupply another *Lima*, or another *Potoſi*.

UPON this foundation, it is generally affirmed, that no country in *America* has a more ſolid eſtabliſhment than *Chili*: for, in porportion to the increaſe of the inhabitants in *Peru*, *Chili* muſt alſo increaſe in riches, ſince it is able to ſupply any great conſumption; and yet have enough for its own, in all kinds of corn, wine, fleſh, oil, ſalt, fruits, pulſe, wool, flax, hides, tallow, leather,

ropes, timber, medicinal remedies, pitch, fiſh of all kinds, metals of all ſorts, and amber. There is no ſilk in *Chili*; and the *Spaniſh* writers ſay, it is to be wiſhed that it may never get there, except for ornament to the altars; becauſe it has already impoveriſhed the country, as the *Spaniards* go to great expence in rich cloaths; particularly the women, whoſe dreſs is not inferior to the ladies of *Madrid*, or other parts.

THE wax likewiſe comes from *Europe*; though there are bees which make both honey and wax. Pepper, and other *Eaſt-India* ſpices, come from abroad; though there is a kind of ſpice which ſupplies the want of them very well: and ſome authors ſay, that in the ſtreights of *Magellan*, there is good cinnamon; as alſo that, on thoſe coaſts, there are trees of a moſt fragrant ſmell in their bark, having a taſte like pepper, but of a more poignant ſavour.

THROUGHOUT the whole province, the herbage and the fiſhing are in common, as alſo hunting, with the woods for fewel and timber; and the ſame is practiſed as to the ſalt mines. Beſides, there is no impoſition on trade; every one being free to tranſport what goods he pleaſes, either within or without the kingdom.

SECTION

SECTION V.

An account of the three grand divisions of CHILI: *with a particular description of their cities, and principal towns; their situation, government, and trade.*

IT is now proper to proceed to the geographical description of this country; which is entirely under the government of its president: the vice-roy of *Peru* seldom interfering with this province, as it is at so great a distance from *Lima*. For the more easy distribution of justice, it is divided into three quarters, or provinces; which are subdivided into thirteen jurisdictions.

I. THE most southerly province is the bishoprick of *IMPERIAL*, or of *CONCEPTION*, which extends from 46° 20′ to the river *Maule*, in about 35 degrees of south latitude: the climate of this province being much like that of *Spain*.

II. THE bishoprick of *St. JAGO*, or *CHILI PROPER*, extends from the river *Maule*, to beyond that of *Copiapo*, between 25 and 26 degrees of south latitude; which, as well as that of *Imperial*, lies between the *South-Sea*, and the *Cordillera* mountains; being what is properly called *Chili*.

III. THE province of *CUYO*, or *CHICUITO*, beyond the mountains, which bounds it on the west: but how far it extends eastwards, towards *Paraguay*, and part of *Terra Magellanica*, is unknown.

I. THE bishoprick, or district of *IMPERIAL*, contains the following considerable cities, sea-port towns, and other places.

1*ſt*. THE city of *Imperial*, which gives the name to the biſhoprick, is ſituated in 72 degrees, 15 minutes of weſt longitude, and 38 degrees 30 minutes of ſouth latitude; in one of the moſt agreeable ſpots in the whole country, on a pleaſant river, anciently called *Cauten*, and now *Imperial*, from the city. It is about 130 miles diſtant from *Conception*, 10 or 12 from the ſea, 330 from the city of *St. Jago*, and 70 north from *Baldivia*. The territory belonging to this city is very fruitful; bearing corn, with all ſorts of fruits and pulſe: though the black grapes never ripen ſo kindly as the white ones, and the muſcadines. The country is partly hills, and partly vallies; the hills being of a gentle and eaſy aſcent, with good paſtures, and ſhelter for cattle: nor does the ground require much watering; having frequent and large dews that fertilize it. This city was a biſhop's ſee, and began to increaſe at firſt very much, on account of the excellency of its ſoil and ſituation; ſo that it would, probably, have become a very conſiderable place, if it had not been deſtroyed by the *Indians*; whereupon the epiſcopal ſee was removed to the city of *Conception*.

THE river *Imperial* is large; it runs a great way up into the country; and the banks of it are very well inhabited by *Indians*: but its mouth affords no good harbour for ſhips of any burthen; becauſe of the flats, which are only about three fathoms and a half in depth.

2*d*. THE city of *Conception*, otherwiſe called *Penco*, from the *Indian* name of the place, is ſeated on the edge of the ſea, at the bottom of a bay of the ſame name, on the eaſt ſide of it, in 73 degrees

grees 15 minutes of weſt longitude, and 36 degrees 20 minutes of ſouth latitude, 140 miles ſouth of *St. Jago*. It was founded by *Peter Baldivia*, the conqueror of *Chili*, after he had ſubdued the neighbouring *Indians*: but the *Indians* afterwards deſtroyed it, under *Caupolican*; and it was rebuilt by *Mendoca*.

AT this time, there are no remains of any fortification; the town being open on all ſides, and commanded by five eminences, among which that of the *Hermitage* advances almoſt to the middle, and overlooks it all. There is no other defence but one low battery, on the edge of the ſea; which commands only the anchoring place before the town, being a good quarter of a league from it, to the north-weſt: nor is this want of fortifications made up by men, and able officers.

THE maeſtre de campo, or colonel, is a general officer for all martial affairs without the town; being commonly one of the inhabitants, who has no experience, and whom the preſident of *Chili* appoints for three years. Under him is a lieutenant-general to the preſident, a major, and captains: but the troops he commands are not numerous; for the whites cannot make a body of two thouſand men, and thoſe very ill armed, both in the town and country about it.

THE militia conſiſts of two companies of foot, and ſome horſe; which were all formerly in the king's pay, who allowed money for the maintaining of three hundred and fifty men, as well for the defence of the town, as of the advanced poſts and garriſons: but when *Frezier* was there, in 1712, that pay had failed for ſeveral years, and

all things were in diſorder; the ſoldiers having been obliged to diſperſe themſelves up and down to get their living; ſo that if the *Indians* ſhould have an inclination to revolt, they would find the *Spaniards* in a defenceleſs condition.

THE incurſions of the *Indians* have occaſioned the removing of the royal court of chancery, which was eſtabliſhed at *Conception*, in the year 1567, to the city of *St. Jago*. Since *Philip* V. aſcended the throne of *Spain*, there has been only one oidor, or judge, of the court, who performs the functions of governor, and is the chief in the adminiſtration of juſtice: the court is compoſed of ſix regidores, or aldermen, two alcaldes in the nature of bailiffs, one royal enſign, an alguazil mayor, or head ſerjeant, and one depoſitary general: all which places are elective, and continue only a year.

WHEN the *Indians* poſſeſſed themſelves of *Imperial*, the city of *Conception* became the ſee of a biſhop, who is ſuffragan to the archbiſhop of *Lima*, the capital of *Peru*: but his chapter conſiſts only of two canons, and ſome prieſts; who are moſt of them ignorant of claſſical learning.

FATHER *Feuilee*, who reſided ſome time in this city, gives the following deſcription of it. It is ſeated in a little valley, called *Penco*, on the ſea-ſhore; having, on the eaſt, high mountains, from which deſcend little rivers, that run acroſs the town. On the north, it has the entrance of the bay; the bay itſelf on the weſt; and the river *Biobio* on the ſouth. The ſtreets, like thoſe of all the towns in this new world, are drawn by a line; and moſt of

the

the houſes are built with earth, in the form of oblong ſquares; only one ſtory high, and covered with pantiles: they are large, but ill furniſhed; the inhabitants ſtill feeling the effects of the ill uſage they have received from the native *Indians*, who are ſuch irreconcileable enemies to the *Spaniards*, that they have plundered and burnt this town three or four times. Each houſe has a garden belonging to it, well furniſhed with all ſorts of fruit-trees, which produce ſuch a prodigious quantity of fruit, that they are obliged to thin them, otherwiſe the branches would break, nor could the fruit come to maturity.

THERE are ſix monaſteries in this city. Towards the middle of the town, there is a large ſquare, on the ſouth-ſide of which ſtands the pariſh church. On the eaſt ſide ſtood the biſhop's palace; and on the two other ſides are ſhops, where the women go in the night time to buy ſuch neceſſaries as they want for their families; it being againſt the cuſtom of this country for women of any reputation to go abroad in the day; which is a very ſingular, though conſiderable abuſe.

THE iſland of *Quiriquina* lies at the mouth of the bay of *Conception*; being ſomewhat lower than the continent, with which it forms two paſſages into the bay. That to the W. S. W. is not very good for large ſhips, though paſſable in caſe of neceſſity; but, unleſs well known, it is dangerous venturing along the ridge of rocks, which advances far towards the middle of it. The north-eaſt paſſage is half a league wide, and clear of any danger. The bay itſelf is two leagues wide from eaſt to weſt; by three, from north to ſouth.

There

There are only two good anchoring places in winter, to be under ſhelter from the north winds, which are violent, and much to be apprehended during five months in the year: the one of them is at the ſouth point of *Quiriquina*, in ten or twelve fathom water, a cable's length from the ſhore; which, though very good, and ſheltered from thoſe winds, is not much frequented, becauſe too remote from the town, and from the continent: the other is at the bottom of the bay, near a village called *Talcaguana*, in five or ſix fathom water; which is the only place of ſafety, whilſt the north wind prevails: but, in ſummer, ſhips may anchor before the town, north-weſt from the battery: and boats may go eaſily aſhore; though in winter it is quite otherwiſe. There is every where conveniencies for wooding and watering; as alſo for building of ſhips.

THE country in which the town of *Conception* is ſeated, abounds in all things, not only to ſupply the neceſſaries of life, but alſo containing infinite wealth. There is gold found in ſeveral of the adjacent parts, eſpecially about 36 miles to the eaſtward, at a place called *Eſtancia del Rey*, or the *King's Station*; where, by waſhing, they get thoſe bits of gold, called by the *Spaniards* pepitas, or grains: ſome of which have weighed ſeveral ounces, and were extraordinary fine. Formerly much was got near *Angol*, which is about 72 miles off; and if the country was inhabited by a laborious people, it might be had in a thouſand parts, where they are ſatisfied there are good waſhing places; that is, lands where gold is got by only waſhing the earth in water.

THE

THE ſecurity of the town conſiſts in its trade, which keeps a conſiderable number of ſhips in the bay, and intimidates the *Indians* from attempting any thing againſt the inhabitants; who, from a confidence of this, live in eaſe and indolence.

THERE is a beneficial trade carried on by the inhabitants of the city of *Conception*, with the *Indians* behind them, who trade with the *Spaniards* in a very particular manner; though they have never negociated a peace with *Spain*. Theſe *Indians* are called *Aucaes*, and inhabit the mountains, where they retain the primitive cuſtoms and manners of their anceſtors. When a *Spaniard* goes to trade with them, he addreſſes himſelf to the cazique, or chief; who, on perceiving the ſtranger, cries out, *What, are you come?* the *Spaniard* anſwers, *Yes, I am come*: then the cazique ſays, *Well! what have you brought me?* the merchant anſwers, *A preſent*; and the prince replies, *Then you are welcome*. He then provides a lodging for the merchant near his own, where all his family go to viſit the ſtranger, in expectation of ſome preſent; and, in the mean time, a horn is ſounded to give notice to the *Indians* who are abroad, that a merchant is arrived. This ſoon aſſembles them together about the merchant, who exhibits his treaſure, conſiſting of knives, ſciſſars, pins, needles, ribbands, ſmall looking-glaſſes, and other toys; which the *Indians* carry away, after ſettling the price, without giving any thing in exchange: but, after a certain time is elapſed, the horn is ſounded again, by the direction of the cazique; when the *Indians* immediately return, and punctually perform their reſpective engagements: the goods they deal in being

being cattle, ſkins of wild beaſts, and ſome gold; but they bring very ſmall quantities of the latter; as they are ſenſible how dear the poſſeſſion of that metal coſt their anceſtors and their neighbours.

3*d*. *BALDIVIA*, or *Valdivia*, is ſituated in 72 degrees, of weſt longitude, and 39 degrees, 40 min. of ſouth latitude; 300 miles ſouth of *Jago*, and 140 miles N. E. of the iſland of *Chiloe*. It was firſt founded by *Peter Baldivia*, in the year 1552, in a plain about 4 or 5 fathoms above the ſurface of the ſea; near which was a fort, to keep the *Indians* in awe: but thoſe people were filled with ſuch reſentment at the tyrannical government of the *Spaniards*, that they took up arms, killed *Baldivia*, and emancipated themſelves from the yoke of *Spaniſh* ſlavery. They alſo plundered and deſtroyed the town; but it was afterwards rebuilt a little higher up the land, on an eminence at the point of a peninſula, formed by two rivers; which, with the iſlands before it, make it the moſt ſecure and ſpacious harbour on the coaſt of *Chili*.

THE town is incloſed with walls, built with earth, and defended by about twelve pieces of cannon, which are ſixteen pounders: but it has only one pariſh church, and a convent of jeſuits.

THE harbour, or port, of this town, is ſo advantageouſly ſituated, that it has engaged the *Spaniards* to build ſeveral forts to defend the entrance of it againſt ſtrangers; becauſe they look upon it as the key of the *South Seas*.

THE paſſage up to the town, for great ſhips, is on the eaſt-ſide, being about ſix leagues: but it is not above two leagues from the ſea by another paſſage on the weſt-ſide, where the ſmall veſſels go up:

up: and Sir *John Narborough* obſerves, that three rivers fall into the harbour, though they are not navigable much beyond the town.

THE *Dutch* were deſirous of ſettling here, in 1643, to ſecure a convenient place, for facilitating their entering the *South-Seas*. And accordingly they made themſelves maſters of it: but want, diſeaſes, and more particularly the death of their general, having weakened them, they were obliged to retire; leaving behind them their baggage, and thirty pieces of cannon, upon advice of the ſuccours ſent againſt them by the vice-roy of *Peru*.

THE *Engliſh*, under Sir *John Narborough*, viſited this port, by the command of king *Charles* II. in 1670; who was of opinion, that the town might be eaſily taken: and commodore *Anſon*, in 1741, intended to attack it, in purſuance of the reſolution of a council of war, and an article contained in his majeſty's inſtructions to him, to endeavour to ſecure ſome port in the *South Seas*, where the ſhips of the ſquadron might be careened and refitted. As *Baldivia* is the principal frontier of the diſtrict of *Chili*, lord *Anſon* propoſed, that the reduction of ſo important a place, ſhould be his firſt attempt, after his arrival in the *South Seas*: in conſequence of which, new inſtructions were given to the captains of the ſquadron; whereby, though they were ſtill directed, in caſe of ſeparation, to make the beſt of their way to the iſland of *Nueſtra Senora del Socoro*; yet they were to cruize off that iſland only ten days; from whence, if not joined by the commodore, they were to proceed, and cruize off the harbour of *Baldivia*, making the land between the latitudes of 40°, and 40° 30′; taking care to keep

keep to the ſouthward of the port; and, if in fourteen days, they were not joined by the reſt of the ſquadron, they were then to quit this ſtation, and to direct their courſe to the iſland of *Juan Fernandez*; after which, they were to regulate their further proceedings by their former orders: but the total and almoſt inſtantaneous ſeparation of the ſquadron, in paſſing round the iſland of *Terra de Fuego*, which was owing to the unſeaſonable time of the year when this gallant commander was ſent upon the expedition, prevented his deſigned attack upon *Baldivia*.

THE white people of *Peru*, and *Chili*, who are baniſhed for their crimes, are ſent to this port, as well as to the town; where they are employed about the fortifications, and other ſervices of the garriſon, which is compoſed of none but ſuch people, who are made ſoldiers and officers, even during the time of their puniſhment. The vice-roy is annually to ſend three hundred thouſand pieces of eight, or about fifty-three thouſand, five hundred pounds ſterling, to keep up the fortifications, and maintain the garriſon: yet, this ſum is not exactly furniſhed; however, the preſident of *Chili* never fails to ſend a good ſupply every year, of which the governors make ſo conſiderable an advantage, that this poſt is the moſt coveted of any, on account of the revenue. Though it ought to be diſagreeable, by the ill company there is in the garriſon; as alſo on account of the rain which continues ſix months every winter.

THE number of inhabitants in this city may amount to between two and three thouſand: but its commerce is not ſo conſiderable now as formerly;

merly; becauſe ſeveral gold mines in its neighbourhood are not wrought at preſent. However, there are ſtill eight or ten veſſels, of between four and five hundred tons each, which are employed in carrying on the trade between this port and *Lima*, where they export hides, goat ſkins tanned, *Cordouan* leather, ſalt meat, corn, and ſome gold; bringing back chocolate, ſpices, ſugar, and all ſorts of *European* goods.

4th. OSORNO is an inland town, ſituated in about 71 degrees of weſt longitude, and 39 degrees of ſouth latitude, 50 miles ſouth of *Baldivia*, on the northern bank of the river *Bueno*; and as many from the ſea coaſt to the eaſt.

THE adjacent country is not fruitful, and produces few of the neceſſaries of life: but it is rich in gold mines; for which reaſon the town is very populous. *De Noort* ſays, that this town lies in about 42 degrees of ſouth latitude; is larger than *Baldivia*, has a *Spaniſh* governor, and that they make here woollen ſtuffs, and linnen cloth. *De Laet* adds, that within the limits of the territory of the town, there are above two hundred thouſand *Indians*, whom *Corneille* calls *Chauracabis*, who pay tribute to the *Spaniards*, and ſerve them without any reward. To the eaſtward of this town, there is a volcano in the *Cordillera* mountains.

5th. VILLA RICA, is about 55 miles diſtant from *Baldivia*, towards the north-eaſt; and about nine or ten from the *Cordillera* mountains, being ſituated on the weſtern bank of a lake called *Mallabauquen* by the *Indians*, which is three leagues long from eaſt to weſt, and two broad from north to ſouth. The ſoil about this city is very fruitful; being

being a clay, of which they make very good bricks. Moſt of the inhabitants work in wool, and make tolerable cloth; as alſo linnen waiſt-coats.

THE *Pehuenches*, an *Indian* nation, inhabit the foot of the mountains, and live chiefly by hunting, in which exerciſe they are prodigiouſly dexterous: but moſt of their country is very cold, and produces hardly any corn or wine.

6th. ANGOL, or *Villa Nueva de los Infantes*, is ſituated in 71 degrees of weſt longitude, and 37 degrees of ſouth latitude, 130 miles N. of *Baldivia*, and about 32 from the *Cordillera*. It ſtands in a large open plain, where the land is very fertile, and fruits come to great maturity. There is good wine; as alſo fine raiſins dried in the ſun, figs, and other dried fruits; with a great quantity of tall cypreſſes, yielding a very ſweet-ſcented wood, of which *Herrera* ſays, they make a gum lac. The great river *Biobio* runs by it, ſerving it for a ditch on the ſouth-ſide; and on the north-ſide another pleaſant rivulet comes running from hills of a moderate height, turning many mills for the uſe of the city.

THE *Spaniards* have ſome other forts in this part of the country; as that of *St. Peter*, on the ſouth ſide of the river *Biobio*, three leagues from *Conception*. Higher up are *Talquemahuida*, *St. Chriſtopher*'s, *St. Joanna*, and *Ycombel*: but thoſe of *Boroa*, *Coloe*, *Repocura*, *Tucapel*, and even *Imperial*, have been long deſtroyed and abandoned.

II. IN *CHILI PROPER*, or the biſhoprick of *St. JAGO*, are the following conſiderable cities, and principal places.

1*ſt. St.*

1ſt. *St. JAGO*, or *St. James the Apoſtle*, the capital of all *Chili*, is ſituated in 69 degrees 40 minutes of weſt longitude, and 33 degrees 12 minutes of ſouth latitude, about 240 miles from *Conception*, towards the north-eaſt, at the weſt foot of the *Cordillera* mountains, from which it is about 6 miles diſtant; and about 54 miles eaſt of the *Pacific Ocean*; ſtanding in a beautiful plain, of about 75 miles in extent, and watered by three rivers, the principal of which is the *Maypo*, or *Maypocho*, on whoſe banks the *Indian* villages are very numerous.

It was founded, in the year 1541, by *Peter Baldivia*, who cauſed the plan of it to be marked out in ſquares, like a draught-board, by the ſame meaſure as thoſe of *Lima* in *Peru*, that is, 150 varas, or *Spaniſh* yards, or 68 fathoms on each ſide; from whence came the meaſure called quadra, which they uſe in this country to divide the cultivated land, as if it were into acres. Each of thoſe ſquares of houſes was divided into four parts, called by them ſolares, for every perſon to have a commodious apartment: though, in proceſs of time, that ſpace was farther divided into ſeveral other parts; yet they have ſtill ſo much room, that there is ſcarce a houſe in the town without a court before, and a garden behind.

The whole city is ſo happily watered, that, by the conveniency of canals cut from the river *Maypocho*, their gardens are not only plentifully ſupplied, but the inhabitants can alſo keep their ſtreets continually clean and cool, by turning a ſtream of water into any of them, whenever they think proper.

THE ſtreets are laid with the four cardinal points of the horizon; north, ſouth, eaſt, and weſt; being five fathoms wide, exactly in a line, and neatly paved with ſmall ſtones, divided in the nature of furrows, by others that are larger, croſſing both ways at equal diſtances, and leaving in the middle about two feet and a half of running water, to waſh or cool the citizens when they pleaſe. Thoſe which run eaſt and weſt, receive their waters from the firſt canals of the river; and thoſe which croſs from north to ſouth, from the canals that run in the middle of the ſquares of houſes, a-croſs the gardens and the ſtreets, under little bridges, from whence it is cauſed to flow out. But, if it was not for this relief, the gardens would produce nothing for want of rain, during eight months in the year; whereas, by this means, the city affords all the delights of the country, in relation to fruit and herbs, having a cool ſhade in the day, and at night the ſweet ſcents of orange flowers, with many others, which perfume the houſes.

THE earthquakes, which are frequent here, have much endamaged the city; particularly, thoſe of 1647, and 1657; the firſt of which was ſo violent, that it almoſt overturned the whole town, and left ſuch unwholeſome vapours in the air, that all the inhabitants died, except about three or four hundred. Since that time, there has been ſome alteration in the plan, by the enlarging of monaſteries; ſome of which have extended themſelves beyond the ſtrait lines: however, it is ſtill ſo open, and well diſtributed, for the conveniency of publick and private perſons; that, if the houſes were raiſed above the level of the

ſtreets,

ſtreets, and of a better ſtructure, it would be a very agreeable city.

In the centre of the city is the royal ſquare, called *Placa Real*; the area of which is 4096 fathoms, that is, each ſide is 64 fathoms, or 384 feet, beſides the breadth of four ſtreets; ſo that there are eight avenues leading into the ſquare, in the middle of which is a fountain, with a braſs baſon. The weſt ſide contains the cathedral, and the biſhop's palace: on the north ſtands that of the preſident, the royal-court, the council-houſe, and the priſon: the ſouth ſide is a continued row of piazzas, or uniform arches, with very commodious ſhops under them, for the conveniency of merchants; as alſo a gallery over them, to ſee the bull feaſt: and on the eaſt ſide are the houſes of the principal merchants.

The ſtructure of the houſes is the ſame as is uſed throughout all *Chili*; being only a ground floor, built with unburnt bricks; excepting that here they are handſomer than in other places, and the churches richer in gilding; ſome of which are built of free ſtone; and alſo ſome of a kind of pebbles brought from a ſmall rock, at the eaſt-end of the city, called *St. Lucy*'s *Hill*; from whoſe ſummit there is a full view of the city and parts adjacent, which affords a very agreeable landſcape.

The preſident, or governor of *Chili*, has his uſual reſidence at *St. Jago*: he is ſubordinate to the vice-roy of *Peru*; but the diſtance very much leſſens the ſubordination; ſo that he may be looked upon in *Chili* as a vice-roy himſelf, for the ſeven years his government continues.

THE governor preſides in the royal court, which is compoſed of four oidores, or judges; two fiſcals, or attornies general, one of whom has the charge of protecting the *Indians*, and the affairs of the croiſade; alſo an alguazil mayor di corte, or head ſergeant of the court; the chancery ſecretary, reporters, and others. There lies no appeal from a judgment, upon a writ of error, or review upon a royal deciſion, which take cognizance only of matters of importance, or ſuch as have been decided in other courts; unleſs it is to the royal council of the *Indies*.

OTHER matters are decided in the council houſe, which is compoſed of two alcaldes, or judges, a royal enſign, an alguazil mayor, or head ſerjeant, and ſix rigidores, or aldermen.

THE eccleſiaſtical ſtate, as well as the ſecular, has a dependance on *Lima*; but the power of the biſhop is very much circumſcribed. There are eight monaſteries of men; three of franciſcans, two of jeſuits, one of the order of mercy, one of the brethren of St. *John* of God, and one of dominicans; which are the only orders eſtabliſhed throughout all *Chili*. There are alſo five nunneries; and all theſe communities are numerous, ſome of them containing above two hundred perſons.

THE tribunal of the inquiſition of *Chili*, is alſo ſettled at *St. Jago*, where the commiſſary general reſides, with his officers, called familiares, who are the informers; and other commiſſaries are diſperſed throughout all the towns and villages ſubordinate to him; who apply themſelves to the diſcovery of ſuch unhappy perſons, whom they think proper to ſubject to the barbarous proceedings of this inhuman inquiſition.

THE

THE number of inhabitants may be about eight thouſand whites, and between twenty and thirty thouſand *Indians* and *Mulattoes*. The citizens are wealthy, and live much at their eaſe; many of them retiring here from *Baldivia*, the *Conception*, *Valparaiſo*, and other places, when they have acquired eſtates by trade: beſides, there are ſome of the citizens who are continually accumulating fortunes by being concerned in the gold mines at *Tiltil*, which are about half way between *St. Jago*, and the ſea; as alſo in ſeveral lavaderoes nearer the city, which are ſo very rich, that ſometimes they yield pieces of gold of an ounce weight, and twenty-three caracts fine.

IN the mountains immediately behind the city, particularly in that called *St. Chriſtopher Lampanquio*, there have been mines of gold, ſilver, iron, copper, lead, and tin, diſcovered, about and ſince the beginning of the preſent century: but they are neglected, either for want of hands, or becauſe they are found to yield leſs profit than ſome others. As for the *Indians*, they deal little in theſe metals on their own account; contenting themſelves with raiſing corn, and feeding cattle, of both of which they have great plenty: but they are very far from being rich; for, even in a country where money is ſo plenty, their wheat, which is very good, will not yield more than a groat a buſhel.

2*d*. *VALPARAISO*, or *Val Parayſo*, is a town, ſituated on the *South-Sea*, in 71 degrees 30 minutes of weſt longitude, and 32 degrees 35 minutes of ſouth latitude, about 90 miles north-weſt of *St. Jago*, which it ſerves in nature of a port.

THIS is one of the moſt conſiderable havens in theſe ſeas; being conſtantly frequented by veſſels from *Callao* and *Panama*, which come here to lade corn, and are of conſiderable burthen: therefore, experienced pilots are always to be met with here for any part of the coaſt, and eſpecially to the northward.

ACCORDING to *Frezier*, ſhips generally run ſo cloſe to the ſhore, that they have three anchors on the land, made faſt to ſtones, or piles; at which diſtance they have ſtill eight or ten fathom water. He obſerves, that this way of making faſt is good; becauſe in ſummer, every day regularly, about noon, the breezes come up at ſouth-weſt and ſouth, ſo ſtrong, that they make the beſt anchors give way: however, care muſt be taken of a ſhoal, that is within a cable's length of the ſhore, near the battery called *Caſtillo Blanco*, or the *White Caſtle*, on which there is not above thirteen or fourteen feet water at the ebb. In other reſpects, he ſays, the bay is very ſafe, and ſhips may turn and anchor every where, from fifty to eight fathom water: but they muſt take care, when they take a trip towards the *Siete Hermanas*, or *Seven Siſters*, that is to the eaſtward, not to draw nearer the ſhore than two cables length and a half, oppoſite to a little running water, croſſed by a great reddiſh road; in which place there is a ſhore, where there is no more than two fathom and a half water. Ships generally anchor only in that nook of the road, which is before the fort, for the conveniency of trade, and their own ſecurity: yet, the ſame author ſays, that road is quite bad in winter; becauſe the north winds, which blow in at the mouth

without

without any oppoſition, make the ſea there ſo boiſterous, that ſhips have been ſometimes forced aſhore. The ſouth winds are no leſs violent there in ſummer: but, as they come over the land, they make no ſea; and if they ſhould force ſhips from their anchors, they can only be drove out to ſea.

THE fort is of little ſignification; both becauſe it is ill built; and becauſe the road it defends is near other creeks, which afford the ſame conveniencies as here; particularly the creek of *Quintero*, which is defenceleſs, and but five leagues from *Valparaiſo*. It is true, that the bay of *Valparaiſo*, as being neareſt to the capital, is the moſt frequented in *Chili*; for which reaſon it has been thought fit to ſecure it againſt the inſults of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, who have often ranged along thoſe coaſts.

FORMERLY, there was only a little battery, level with the water; but they have ſince built the great fortreſs, at the foot of the mountain. It ſtands on an eminence of an indifferent height, croſſed towards the ſouth-eaſt and north-eaſt by two ſtreams, which form two natural ditches, between twenty and twenty-five fathom deep, ſunk down almoſt to the level of the ſea: ſo that it is abſolutely parted from the neighbouring eminences, which are a little higher. The ſide next the ſea is naturally ſo ſteep, that there is no going up without much difficulty; and on the land ſide, or next the high mountain, it is defended by a ditch, which croſſes from one ſtream to the other, and thus cuts off the encloſure of the fortreſs ſomething near to a ſquare. As the ſituation of the place would not

permit the making of a regular fortification, it cannot properly be called any other than walls of entrenchments, following the compaſs of the height, which flank one another but very little, and ſometimes not at all. At the middle of the wall, which is above the town, there is a ſmall redan, or indented work, of ſeven fathoms in front, with a guerite, or centinel's box. The oppoſite ſide, above the ſtream of *St. Auguſtin*, is only defended by the flank of a demi-baſtion, which forms a dead angle; the face whereof makes too oblique a defence. The ſide next the mountain conſiſts of a curtain of twenty-ſix fathoms, and of two demi-baſtions of twenty fathoms face, and eleven flank; ſo that the line of defence is but of forty-five fathoms. All this part is built with brick, raiſed twenty-five feet in height, on a beam, being a ſmall ſpace of ground, between the wall and the moat. The depth of the ditch is about ten feet, and its breadth three fathoms towards the ſaliant angles, whence it has its defence to the angle of the epaule, or ſhoulder of the baſtion. It is cut in a ſoft rock, which has been made a little ſteep at the two ends, to render it inacceſſible by way of the ſtreams. The parapets are but two feet and a half thick, and the reſt of the encloſure of the place is only a piece of maſonry made of rubbiſh, and very weak. There is no rampart, but on the land ſide, to cover the fortreſs, and hinder its being commanded by the mountain, which riſes gently: but the greateſt misfortune is, that the flanks can be battered in reverſe, that is, on the backs; and the curtains and faces enfiladed, or ſcoured along their whole length from neighbouring

eminences,

eminences, within muſket ſhot; ſo that it is very eaſy to render them uſeleſs.

AT the foot of the high fort, adjoining to the town, is a battery of nine pieces of cannon, raiſed thirty feet high, on a key of the ſame height, whence they can fire upon the anchoring place level with the water: but, beſides that it has no defence from the poſition, it is commanded by all the parts about. This is called *Caſtillo Blanco*, or the *White Caſtle*; becauſe it has been whitened, that it may be ſeen at a diſtance. Behind this battery are the gate, the ſtairs, and the aſcent, which lead from the town to the fortreſs, along a way covered with a piece of wall; and higher up a boyau, or branch of a trench, the epaulement whereof does not cover the gate of the body of the place, which is all open to the road. In the middle of the curtain, or the ſide next the mountain, is another gate, to which they climb up out of the ditch, for want of a draw-bridge; and this way the conduit of water paſſes, drawn from the ſtream of *St. Auguſtin* for the upper fort, which might be eaſily cut off; when the garriſon could have water no where but from the rivulet, which runs from the bottom of the ſtream of *St. Francis*, through the middle of the town.

AT the foot of the fortreſs, in a little jut, or narrow ſpace, is the town of *Valparaiſo*, conſiſting of about a hundred poor houſes, without any order, and of ſeveral heights; ſtretching out a long the ſea, where are the granaries, or ſtore-houſes for corn: but, though it is ſo ſmall, it has a pariſh church, and two monaſteries. It contains about one hundred and fifty families; but there are ſcarce

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thirty of them white; the reſt being black, mulattoes, and meſtizoes. The number of men able to bear arms is very inconſiderable: though the neighbouring dwellings or farms, upon the firſt ſignal from the fortreſs, furniſh ſix troops of horſe, mounted at their own expence; moſt of whom have no other arms but ſwords. However, upon notice given by the centinels kept along the coaſt, they are very regular in drawing together; at leaſt, ſome parts of thoſe troops, when a ſhip appears, which is not thought to be *Spaniſh* built.

FATHER *Feuillee* ſays, that the veſſels from *Lima* arrive here uſually in *October*, and return in *March*, to avoid the north winds; furniſhing all the harbours of *Chili* with *European* goods, ſuch as cloth, ſilk, and other things, which the *Chileſians* may want.

SHIPS ſometimes lie at the port of *Quintero*, for conveniency, till they can get a loading from *Valparaiſo*, which conſiſts chiefly in corn; and ſuch vaſt quantities are ſent to market, that the magiſtrates have a diſcretionary power of ordering as much as they think proper to be thrown into the ſea, that the remainder may ſell the better.

THE equipment of the ſquadron by the *Britiſh* government, in the year 1740, to enter the *South-Seas*, at firſt gave the *Spaniards* very terrible apprehenſions: but the ſeparation of this force ſoon diſſipated their fears; for the ſquadron, which originally conſiſted of ſix ſhips, and 961 men, was reduced to three ſhips, and 335 men, when commodore *Anſon* arrived at *Juan Fernandez*, in *June* 1741. However, this brave officer, though he was diſabled from executing what he intended,

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was determined to diſtreſs the *Spaniards* as much as poſſible; for which purpoſe, he began to cruize in theſe ſeas, and, on the 14th of *September* following, took a prize called the *Nueſtra Senora del Monte Carmelo*, commanded by Don *Manuel Zamorra*, burden 450 tons, having fifty-three ſailors, whites and blacks, and twenty-five paſſengers on board. The cargo of this ſhip conſiſted chiefly of ſugar, and great quantities of blue cloth made in the province of *Quito*, ſomewhat reſembling *Engliſh* coarſe broad-cloths, but inferior in quality: they had beſides ſeveral bales of a coarſer ſort of cloth of different colours, ſomewhat like *Colcheſter* bays, called by the *Spaniards*, *Pannia de Tierra*; with a few bales of cotton, and ſome tobacco; as alſo ſome trunks of wrought plate, and 23 ſerons of dollars, each weighing upwards of two hundred pounds weight avoirdupois. She was bound from *Callao* in *Peru*, to the port of *Valparaiſo*, and propoſed to have returned from thence loaded with corn, and *Chili* wine, ſome gold, dried beef, and ſmall cordage, which is converted into larger rope at *Callao*. The commodore returned with his prize to *Juan Fernandez*; being informed by the priſoners, that the *Spaniſh* ſquadron fitted out to purſue him, under the command of admiral *Pizarro*, had met with greater misfortunes than his own; not ſo much as one ſhip being able to come into the *South Seas*: therefore, the crew of the *Centurion* flattered themſelves, that they might meet with ſome valuable captures, and thereby indemnify themſelves for the incapacity they were under of attempting any of the conſiderable ſettlements on ſhore; eſpecially as the *Wager* was loſt,

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